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HISTORY

OF

RICHARD CROMWELL

AND THE

RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

BY

M. GUIZOT.

TRANSLATED BY ANDREW R. SCOBLE.

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HISTORY

OF

RICHARD CROMWELL

AND

THE RESTORATION.

BOOK III.

DISORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.—ATTITUDE OF MONK IN SCOTLAND.—ROYALIST INTRIGUES AROUND HIM.—HIS TWO CHAPLAINS.—BOOTH'S INSURRECTION NEARLY CAUSES HIM TO DECIDE FOR THE KING.—REASONS WHICH LED HIM TO POSTPONE HIS DECISION.—HIS TEMPORARY DISCOURAGEMENT.—EXPULSION OF THE PARLIAMENT BY LAMBERT: MONK SIDES WITH THE CIVIL AUTHORITY.—HIS ACTIVITY AND DISSIMULATION.—EFFECT PRODUCED BY HIS DECLARATION IN LONDON.—ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION FRUSTRATED BY MONK.—SIMULTANEOUS NEGOTIATIONS OF THE ROYALISTS WITH MONK, LAMBERT, AND FLEETWOOD.—JUNCTION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY WITH MONK.—ALARM OF THE ARMY-PARTY IN LONDON.—WHITELOCKE'S PROPOSITION TO FLEETWOOD.—THE ARMY ITSELF RECALLS THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—MONK ENTERS ENGLAND.—HIS MARCH FROM COLDSTREAM TO LONDON.—HE IS MET BY TWO ENVOYS FROM THE PARLIAMENT.—HIS ENTRY INTO LONDON.

When violence and irresolution, discord and weariness manifest themselves simultaneously in the acts of political parties, the downfall of those parties is certain and near at hand. The Commonwealth had now reached this fatal point in its history. Hateful to the country in general, it

was supported only by the mutilated Parliament and by the army: and these two powers were engaged in deadly warfare with each other. But at the very moment when they were entering upon this conflict, they were a prey to hesitation and uncertainty; both were divided into wavering cliques, on whose support it was impossible for either to rely, and which, with a strange combination of obstinacy and vacillation, while they were bent on injuring one another, never ceased, from a secret consciousness of equal weakness and exposure to the same danger, to treat each other with mutual consideration. In the army, Lambert, who was still jealous of the greatness of the dead Cromwell, served as a rallying-point for the purely military party, composed of officers, subalterns, and soldiers, who were accustomed to be the masters, and were ready to do anything to maintain their dominion, as the only safeguard of the form of government which they persisted in calling the Commonwealth. Fleetwood, who had the title of General-in-chief, feared Lambert not only as an ambitious rival, but as a dangerous ally, and sought for support against him in every quarter, even among the ranks of their common enemies. In every corps, and in all grades, of the army, the expelled Parliament possessed faithful adherents in the persons of those sincere Republicans, who regarded the government elected by the people as the representative of the good old cause, deplored the excesses of their companions in arms, and remained in secret communication with the Parliamentary leaders, and particularly with Haslerig, the most active of them all, in the hope of being able to effect a reconciliation. Other officers, gifted with greater foresight (as for in-

stance, Colonel Morley, who had given such striking proof of his fidelity to the Parliament up to the very last moment), were beginning to despair of its restoration, as well as of the success of the army; and determined neither to betray their old masters, nor to remain involved in their fate, they were daily and noiselessly clearing themselves of their old hostility to the King. Nor was the Parliament, in its defeat, less uneasy or more united than the army, in the plenitude of its power. While Haslerig and Scott were persistently asserting the rights of the Parliament, Vane and Whitelocke were forming a close alliance with the army: Vane hoping to effect, with the help of the zealous enthusiasm of the sectarian soldiers, those radical reforms which, in his eyes, could alone save the State; and Whitelocke aiming, on the contrary, with the assistance of the leaders, to prevent the adoption of those extreme measures. Both were actuated, in reality, by the terror with which they regarded the prospect of the Restoration of Charles II.; and yet, in view of this contingency, many of their most intimate friends, including William Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons, were already preparing to offer the King their unqualified submission, and in many cases even their active assistance. The dissolution of the Republican party, both civil and military, was visibly progressing; and it was watched with anxious joy by the Royalists, who, though still conquered and motionless, were full of ardour and hope.[1]

Far from this scene of anarchy and enervation, one alone of the leaders of the army and of the country,

[1] Bordeaux to Mazarin, October 30, 1659. See APPENDIX.

George Monk, confining his attention to the government of Scotland, remained a complete stranger to these intrigues. Not that he was inattentive to the progress of affairs in England, or unwilling, under any circumstances, to take part in them. Even if such had been his wish, the party leaders in London, both military and civil, would not have left him at liberty to follow the bent of his inclination. They were themselves constantly on the watch to ascertain what Monk was doing, or planning, or thinking: and each in turn took pains to maintain friendly relations with him, either in order to secure his support or to discover his designs. Fleetwood, with the restlessness of a feeble and undecided mind, wrote to him two or three times a week, eager to inform him of events as they occurred, to explain to him his own conduct, and to prejudice him against his adversaries or rivals. Lambert, though more bold, nevertheless took frequent occasion to express to Monk the esteem and confidence with which he regarded him as an old companion in arms. Haslerig neglected no opportunity of laying him under obligation, and boasted that he could reckon on him as a friend both to himself and to the Parliament. Scott had obtained the appointment of chaplain to the Council of State in Scotland for Dr. Gumble, who had formerly been a Presbyterian vicar in the small town which he represented in Parliament; and Gumble, who had thus become one of Monk's chaplains, kept up a constant correspondence with his first patron. Thus courted and flattered by the leaders of the most opposite parties, and enabled to ascertain without participating in their movements, Monk welcomed all infor-

mation, repelled no advances, appeared favourable while remaining taciturn, and allowed all to hope for his support without promising it to any one in particular. He had no fixed principles, no strong passions, no great political ambition; but he was a serious and sensible man, and he was determined to support that power only which, by its vigour and ability, should appear to him to be equal to its task, and should inspire him with some confidence in its stability. The Long Parliament, as the conqueror of royalty, and Cromwell, as the conqueror of the Long Parliament, had been, in his eyes, masters who were capable of holding the reins of government, and whom it would be safe to serve; and he had served them both in turn, unscrupulously and faithfully, though neither unreservedly nor devotedly. After the death of Cromwell, he had no confidence in the merit or in the fortune of any one of the men or parties who contended for his inheritance; and he watched their vain struggles with prudent and disdainful indifference, waiting until some better chances of security and success should present themselves, both for his country and for himself.[1]

In his inmost heart, Monk was a Royalist, from respect to the ancient order of things, from aversion to anarchy and revolutionary vicissitudes, from a just appreciation of the feeling of the country and of future probabilities, and also, in spite of his long disloyalty, from some surviving spark of family spirit (as nearly all the gentlemen of Devonshire, his relatives and friends, were Cavaliers), and from the recollection that he had first borne arms in the

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 272; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 98–100; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 121.

service of the King. Among those who immediately surrounded him, in his household, the same feeling prevailed. His wife, a woman of low origin and vulgar manners, who had been his mistress for some years before he married her, often spoke recklessly in favour of the King, probably because she thought an affectation of aristocratic tastes might cause her own shortcomings to be forgotten. His chaplain-in-ordinary, John Price, though very reserved in public, was an avowed Cavalier in the intimacy of family intercourse. When the General requested him to endeavour to put a stop to the indiscreet speeches of his wife,—"Sir, what shall I say?" replied the chaplain; "she speaks such unhappy truths that neither you nor I can gainsay them." "True, Mr. Price," returned Monk, "but I have learned a proverb that he who follows truth too close upon the heels, will, one time or other, have his brains kicked out." Monk himself however sometimes forgot his usual reserve; he complacently allowed popular predictions to be circulated, which pointed him out as the future restorer of the monarchy; and when the old Earl of Nithsdale came to him one day to announce to him that this glorious work would be accomplished without even a finger being cut in the affair, "In that case," replied Monk, "I am assured of my share in it." His reputation for bravery was so well established that he was not ashamed to boast of his prudence.[1]

Well aware of this state of feeling, and only too ready to exaggerate its operation, the Royalists laboured incessantly to persuade Monk to adopt their cause; at one time, they sought for means of acting upon him within

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 14; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 118–123.

the circle of his intimate acquaintance; at another time, they urged the King and Hyde to make those advances to him, which were necessary to decide his conduct. Hyde exhibited considerable distrust: he had no acquaintance with Monk, and felt but little esteem for his character. Charles sent full powers to three of his council in England, Lord Bellasis, Lord Faulconbridge, and Sir John Greenville, in these terms: "I am confident that George Monk can have no malice in his heart against me, nor hath he done anything against me which I cannot very easily pardon; and it is in his power to do me so great service that I cannot easily reward, but I will do all I can, and I do authorize you, and either of you, with the advice of the rest, to treat with him, and not only to assure him of my kindness, but that I will very liberally reward him with such an estate in land, and such a title of honour as himself shall desire, if he will declare for me and adhere to my interest; and whatever you shall promise to him on my behalf, or whatever he, or you by his advice, shall promise to any of his officers or the army under his command, which command he shall still keep, I will make good and perform, upon the word of a King." There is nothing to indicate the precise use made of this power by Lord Faulconbridge and his friends, on their receiving it; but at every step, we find traces of messages sent and overtures made to Monk, in the name either of the King or of the Royalists, whether old Cavaliers or converted Presbyterians, who were all alike persuaded that he was able, and not very far from willing, to restore the monarchy. Always equally taciturn to all who thus addressed him, Monk

gave no answer; but he allowed the messengers to come to him, state their object, and go away again unmolested. Only, whenever any one ventured to press him too closely, he resumed his official character in a few decisive words. A short time before Sir George Booth's insurrection, Colonel Jonathan Atkins, a Cavalier who had formerly been his companion in arms, came expressly to inform him of the proposed rising, and to request him, on behalf of the gentlemen who were engaged in it, either to lend them his assistance, or at least to take no part against them. "If they take up arms," replied Monk bluntly, "I shall send a force against them: by the duty of my place, I can do no less."[1]

He was soon called upon to deliberate on proposals of a more serious character. The great plot which had been laid in order to secure a general rising of the Royalists, had not yet failed; the insurrection of Sir George Booth in Cheshire was soon to break out. Charles and his advisers deemed that the time had come for taking decisive measures to ascertain the views of Monk, whose accession to their cause would determine its success. Both the instrument and the opportunity presented themselves naturally. Sir John Greenville, foreseeing the advantage he might one day derive from it, had given a benefice which he possessed in Cornwall, to Nicholas Monk, a younger brother of the General, a poor clergyman, devoted to the royal cause and to the service of his patron. Nicholas Monk had lately sent his daughter Mary to spend some time in Scotland with her uncle, and was

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 417; Price's Memoirs, p. 6; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 292.

now about to fetch her home again on account of an offer of marriage which had been made to her, regarding which he wished to consult his brother. Greenville wrote at once to Hyde to inquire whether the King, at so urgent a crisis, would not avail himself of a messenger so far above suspicion, in order to convey his requests and promises in safety to Monk. Charles immediately despatched two letters to London; one to Greenville, in which he solemnly confirmed the full powers he had already given him in this matter, and the other addressed to Monk himself, in the following terms: "I cannot think you wish me ill, nor have you reason to do so; and the good I expect from you will bring so great a benefit to your country and to yourself, that I cannot think you will decline my interest. The person who gives or sends this to you, has authority to say much more to you from me: and if you once resolve to take my interest to heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it entirely to your judgment, and will comply with the advice you shall give me. It is in your power to make me as kind to you as you can desire, and to have me always, your affectionate friend, C. R."[1]

As soon as he had received these letters, Greenville summoned Nicholas Monk to London, and informed him of the mission which he wished him to undertake. The honest clergyman consented without a moment's hesitation. Alarmed however at the idea of carrying the King's own letter about his person, he requested permis-

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 707; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 543; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 383; Price's Memoirs, pp. 4-6; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 103-105; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 87-96.

sion to leave it in London, after having committed it to memory, as he was sure he would be able to repeat it word for word to his brother. To this Greenville agreed. Nicholas Monk then made arrangements for his journey with Thomas Clarges, who was still the General's confidential agent; and, embarking at London on the 5th of August, 1659, he arrived a few days after at Dalkeith, Monk's head-quarters, at the very moment when the Parliament, greatly alarmed by Booth's insurrection, which had just broken out, was taking the severest measures against the Royalists, and sending out a strong body of troops, under the command of Lambert, to combat the insurgents.[1]

Monk did not see his brother in private until late at night, and after he had, according to his custom, spent the day in transacting business and conversing with his officers. What passed between the two brothers, at their first interview, is nowhere reported. We only know that Nicholas Monk, immediately on his arrival, either in a burst of confidence, or in pursuance of his instructions, informed Chaplain Price of the object of his journey; that Price, in his turn, made him acquainted with the feelings of the General, his wife, and his officers, and gave him much useful advice as to the language and behaviour he must employ in order to succeed in his mission; and that the presence of this new visitor excited, among the staff of the General, an amount of curiosity which Price had some difficulty in evading or deceiving. For some days, Monk neither did nor said anything to indicate that

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 6; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 104; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 96; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 543.

he had adopted any resolution or decided on any plan. But on Saturday, the 23rd of August, Chaplain Gumble arrived from Edinburgh, and had a long conference with the General, at the conclusion of which he went into Price's study, where the good man was preparing his sermon for the following day. "Lay aside all thought of preaching for to-morrow," said he to Price; "I will undertake it for you: you are transformed into a Secretary of State;" and, on behalf of the General, he directed Price to prepare a letter addressed to the Parliament, in the name of the Scottish army and its leader, to complain of the perpetual power which it seemed desirous of securing to itself; to require it, in the first place, to complete its own numbers, and then to make arrangements for the election of future Parliaments, as a necessary condition of republican government; and to declare their determination to support their demands by force, if they could not otherwise obtain the satisfaction which they sought. "I am not fully satisfied," said Gumble to Price, "of the grounds of the General's engagement, now after his brother is come; he might have done it sooner." But Price hastened to re-assure him by declaring that Nicholas Monk's journey had reference merely to the marriage of his daughter with one of their kinsmen; and Gumble made no further objections.[1]

On the following day, after Divine service, which Gumble terminated with a prayer that God would bless the General's good intentions, Monk, accompanied by his brother, his Adjutant Smith, and Gumble himself, pro-

[1] Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 104; Price's Memoirs, pp. 21, 22; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 96–100.

ceeded to the apartment of Price, who, opening a Bible before him, called on him to swear "that he would not reveal anything that should be discoursed of by them, or read to him, without the consent of all there present." Monk laid his hand on the sacred volume, and took the required oath; the others did the same, and Price then read his draft of a Declaration to the Parliament. This document was discussed, modified, and instantly commented upon by the most significant acts, for Monk ordered his Adjutant Smith to take horse immediately, proceed to Edinburgh and Leith, and secure the citadels of those two towns, where he would find officers who would give him every assistance in accomplishing his mission. These arrangements concluded, Monk left the room, and returned to his own apartment, "having," says Price, "other and more secret designs to fetch, in assistance to this new enterprise." It was now nearly night; Smith, after some little conversation with the three clergymen, was rising to take his departure, in obedience to the orders he had received, when Monk re-entered the room and detained him. "It will be no great prejudice to our business," he said, "if we wait for the information of the next post; for Lambert is marched towards Booth, and by this time is ready to face him; and then we shall know whether Booth hath this force with him that it is said he hath, and what likelihood there is of the action, by any farther assistance." Upon this, the others took their leave; but Price, full of anxiety and impatience, ventured, later in the evening, to go down to the General and request an interview with him. He found him in close conversation with a Scottish gentleman, who had

formerly been a companion in arms of Montrose, and whose skill in all field-sports had now gained him the General's friendship. Monk advanced to meet his chaplain, who drew him aside, and represented to him the urgency of the crisis, and the danger of delay, "for," said he, "your brother only came to us at the latest." Monk frowned, and, laying his hand on Price's shoulder, said, in a low voice and with some symptoms of anger: "What, Mr. Price, will you then bring my neck to the block for the King, and ruin our whole design by engaging too rashly?" "Sir," replied Price, "I never named the King to you, either now or at any other time." "Well," returned Monk, "I know you have not, but I know you, and have understood your meaning;" and he dismissed the chaplain, still feeling somewhat regretful of the delay, but with his mind at ease as to the intentions of his General.[1]

The next morning, the post brought the news of Booth's defeat by Lambert, and of the total failure of the Royalist insurrection. Towards noon, a great number of officers, mostly zealous Republicans, Anabaptists, or Quakers, came to dine with the General, and loudly expressed their joy at the intelligence they had received. At dinner, the conversation turned principally on the same topic: "the mercy was not ordinary," they said, "for the greatest part of the gentry of England were engaged in the conspiracy, and our old friends the Presbyterians were more forward in the action than our old enemies the Cavaliers; it was apparent that Booth and his confederates intended to have brought in Charles

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 22–27.

Stuart." "I could wish," said Monk, "that the Parliament would make a law that whoever should but mention the restoring of him, should presently be hanged." The conversation grew still more animated; from Charles Stuart, it diverged to religious questions; the hatred of the Sectaries to the Anglican Church, and to every permanent and legal ecclesiastical establishment, was expressed in unmeasured terms. "There can never be a quiet and lasting settlement in these nations," said Captain Poole, "so long as there is a parish priest or steeple-house left." At this sally Monk rose indignantly, and either because his patience was exhausted, or because he thought it fitting to put a stop to further extravagances of language: "Fair and softly, Captain Poole," said he, "if you and your party once come to pluck there, I will pluck with you." His anger was rarely exhibited, and his authority was greatly respected; the officers withdrew in silence. When Monk found himself alone with his confederates of the previous evening, they congratulated each other on his prudence; it had saved them from a tremendous danger. "What would you have done, General," Price asked him, "had the tidings of Lambert's beating of Booth surprised us in the very first appearance of our design?" "I doubt not," replied Monk, "but I could have secured to myself the castle of Edinburgh and citadel of Leith; some officers and many soldiers would have followed me; and then I would have commissioned the whole Scottish nation to rise."[1]

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 28–30; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 709, 710; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 99–104.

The answer was as judicious as it was bold: Monk could safely rely on the support of the greater number of his soldiers, who felt that full confidence in him which is inspired by long-tried superiority and constant success. Some time before, on the accession of Richard Cromwell to the Protectorate, they had manifested greater ambition for their General than he had felt for himself. "Old George for our money," they said; "he is fitter for a Protector than Dick Cromwell." And more recently still, when conversing about the troubles of England, in the intervals of leisure which their garrison duties allowed them, they had asked, "Why will not old George do something? we can march safely behind him." Monk was well aware of the prevalence of this feeling among his troops, and took pains to encourage it, as his surest source of strength; but he also knew that the goodwill of the masses is useful only when it is called into action at the right moment and under favourable circumstances. He was impressed by the danger he had just escaped; he had reckoned on greater extensiveness and persistence in the Royalist insurrection in England; the Presbyterians, who were its chief promoters, were, in his opinion, the most powerful and perhaps the most national party in the country; he had reason to believe that Fairfax, who possessed great influence in Yorkshire, regarded the movement with approbation, and was preparing to take up arms in its support. And yet the whole scheme had been destroyed, in a few hours, and almost without an effort. What a lesson of prudence for the cautious General! What a confirmation of his propensity to distrust party vaunts, popular enthusiasm, and revolutionary oscil-

lations! He resolved to remain perfectly quiet. His brother Nicholas had not been either as discreet or as adroit as the occasion required; Monk roughly chid him, advising him to devote himself in future to his parish and his studies, and never again to meddle with public affairs, and bade him give the same advice to his cousin Greenville; then, enjoining him to observe the strictest secrecy with regard to all that had passed between them, he went so far as to tell his brother with some passion, "that if ever this business were discovered by him, or by Sir John Greenville, he would do the best he could to ruin them both."[1]

Nor did he remain satisfied with these precautions; either from discouragement, or deep calculation, he wrote to Lenthall, the Speaker of the Parliament, to tender his resignation of his command. "He was aged and infirm," he said, "and his great desire was to retire to live upon his own inheritance, which he had scarce had time to see since he was a child." That it was his serious intention at this time to withdraw from public life is rendered probable by the fact that he did not send his letter, according to his usual practice, to his brother-in-law Clarges, whose opposition he anticipated; but Clarges received timely notice of his intention, doubtless from one of Monk's intimate confidants, and sent in his turn to inform Lenthall of the contents of the letter he was soon to receive. Lenthall, anxious to prevent the retirement of Monk, whose future destiny he foresaw, kept the letter in his own custody for several days, without communicating it to the Parliament.

[1] Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 95, 105; Price's Memoirs, p. 34; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 103–110; Guizot's Monk, pp. 61–75.

In vain did some zealous Republicans, and particularly Vane and Salloway, who would have delighted to get rid of Monk, and had some inkling of his intention to quit the service, inquire whether news had been received from him; Lenthall avoided giving a direct answer; and soon afterwards, Monk, recovering from his depression, and pleased by the anxiety which the mere idea of his retirement had occasioned to his partisans, authorized Clarges to withdraw his letter, and nothing more was heard of it.[1]

If his despondency had been sincere, Monk soon perceived that he had given way to discouragement without any sufficient cause. The news which he received from London placed it beyond doubt that the Parliament, delivered from Booth and the Royalists by Lambert's victory, would soon find another rival, and perhaps another conqueror, in Lambert himself. On learning that Lambert and his officers were preparing to address a Humble Representation to Parliament, setting forth their grievances, Monk openly expressed his disapprobation of the proceeding, forbade his army to take part in it, and wrote to assure the Parliament of his continued fidelity. His letter was received with lively satisfaction, and Whitelocke was directed to draw up an official vote of thanks to him. Meanwhile, the quarrel between the Parliament and the army in England rapidly increased in violence. "I see now," said Monk one day to Price, "that I shall have a better game to play than I had before; I know Lambert so well that I am sure he will not let those people at Westminster sit till Christmas-day:" and he sent

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 710; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 110.

his brother Nicholas to London with instructions, on the one hand, to renew to the Parliament the assurance that, if it would maintain its own authority, it might count on the support of the Scottish army, and on the other hand, to declare to Sir John Greenville that he brought no answer from the General to the King's letter, and that Monk was so much affected by the defeat of Booth that he had enjoined him to observe the strictest silence respecting the whole affair.[1]

Scarcely a week had elapsed since Nicholas Monk had returned to London, and executed this double commission, when a message from Clarges arrived at Dalkeith, on the 17th of October, 1659, with the important news that Lambert had expelled the Parliament, and that, on the evening before its expulsion, the Parliament had dismissed Lambert from all his employments, and appointed Monk one of the seven commissioners charged with the government of the army. Before noon, Monk had assembled his principal officers together, communicated to them his resolution to support the Parliament, sent off his Adjutant Smith to Edinburgh and Leith, and two other officers to St. Johnston and Ayr (of which important places he was anxious to make sure), and given orders that no post should go out to London that evening, as he was desirous to act before anything was said about his intentions. On the following day, at the head of his guards, he proceeded in person to Edinburgh, where

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 792; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 684; Baker's Chronicle, p. 713; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 296; Price's Memoirs, p. 37; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 112; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 113; Bordeaux to Mazarin, November 3, 1659. See APPENDIX.

two regiments of infantry were in garrison; he immediately cashiered those officers whom he distrusted, and having paraded the troops, briefly addressed them: "The army in England," he said, "have broken up the Parliament, out of a restless and ambitious humour to govern all themselves, and to hinder the settlement of the nation. Their next practice will be to impose their insolent extravagances upon the army in Scotland, which is neither inferior nor subordinate to them. For my own part, I think myself obliged, by the duty of my place, to keep the military power in obedience to the civil; and since you have received your pay and commission from the Parliament, it is your duty to defend it. In this, I expect the ready obedience of you all; but if any declare their dissent to my resolution, they shall have liberty to leave the service, and may take passes to be gone." This firm and straightforward speech was received with acclamations by the soldiers, and Monk returned to his head-quarters to take measures for securing the execution of the design which he had so boldly announced.[1]

His good sense and practical experience had taught him that, in order to exert a powerful influence over men, whether friends or enemies, it is necessary to act in the name of some acknowledged right, some undisputed principle, which may serve as a starting-point and standard in action. He had now found, or to speak more correctly, events had supplied him with the support so necessary to his first steps in the difficult course on which he had entered. That the military power ought to be

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 44; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 721, 722; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 133–135; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 117–119.

subject to the civil government was a maxim to which he might boldly appeal without fear of contradiction: and to this principle he adhered imperturbably in all cases, both in attacking his adversaries, and in defending himself against his own instruments and allies. As soon as his resolution was taken, he directed a small committee of superior officers, who had now become his habitual advisers, to prepare in the first place a general declaration to the effect that "they had taken arms only to defend the freedom and privileges of Parliaments, and to vindicate the rights and liberties of the people against all opposition whatsoever;" and also to write letters, in the name of the officers of his army as well as in his own name, to the officers of the army in England, in which he called on them to return to the principles which they had violated, pointed out to them the errors of which they had been guilty, and implored them earnestly not to persevere in their present course, assuring them that the consequences of their obstinacy would be most disastrous to themselves and their country. At the same time he wrote himself to Fleetwood, Lambert, and Lenthall;[1] to the two former, he declared his firm intention to restore the Parliament to the full possession of its rights, while he assured the last that the Parliament might reckon upon his support. And that he might lose no time in securing adherents in every quarter to the cause he had embraced, he also wrote to the Generals of the army in Ireland, to the commanders of the fleet, to the governors of the principal places in England, and even to some private individuals (Ludlow among others) whose influence he

[1] On the 20th of October, 1659.

knew to be great, in order to inform them of his purpose and obtain their co-operation.[1]

Though similar in substance, these letters were very different in tone, and were most skilfully adapted to the position or character of the persons to whom they were addressed. To Lambert, Monk wrote imperiously, and almost as if he were a rebel: "Having noticed," he said, "that a part of the army under the Parliament's command have, contrary to their duty, put force upon them, I have sent this messenger to your Lordship to entreat you to be an instrument of peace and good understanding between Parliament and army; for, if they shall continue this force, I am resolved, with the assistance of God and that part of the army under my command, to stand by them and assert their lawful authority. For the nation of England will not endure any arbitrary power, neither will any true Englishman in the army; therefore I do earnestly entreat you (that we may not be a scorn to all the world and a prey to our enemies), that the Parliament may be speedily restored to their freedom, which they enjoyed on the 11th of this instant. Which is all at present from your Lordship's humble servant, George Monk." Towards Fleetwood, on the other hand, his language was more gentle and friendly. "I hope your Lordship," he wrote, "will not abet an action of such a dangerous and destructive consequence. I know that you love the liberty and peace of England so well that you will use your best care that attempts of

[1] Monk's Letters, pp. 9–29; Baker's Chronicle, p. 724; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 134, 135; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 125–127; Price's Memoirs, pp. 48, 49; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 303.

this nature be suppressed." And in his letter to Lenthall, after having promised to give the Parliament his strongest support, Monk added: "I do call God to witness that the asserting of a Commonwealth is the only intent of my heart; and I desire, if possible, to avoid the shedding of blood. But if the army will not obey your commands, I will not desert you, according to my duty and promise."[1]

Having published his declaration, despatched his letters, and thereby clearly taken up his position in view of the whole country, Monk again directed his attention to the state of affairs immediately around him. Here also, prompt action was necessary; in his government, in his army, and in his household, he had to contend with hostile distrust, and to repress premature enthusiasm. The Royalists hastened to offer their services and to proclaim their hopes; the Republicans took the alarm, and declared themselves more than ever determined not to suffer the restoration of Charles Stuart. The latter were numerous among the officers in Monk's army, and the greater part of the cavalry entertained the same views; among the infantry alone, political indifference and trustful obedience prevailed. Without threat or clamour, Monk took effectual measures to avert these internal dangers; more than a hundred and forty officers were successively cashiered, and their places supplied by promotions from the ranks, which substituted reliable and grateful men in their stead. Monk also sent on distant service those regiments of which he was doubtful, and surrounded himself by those on whose fidelity he could

[1] Monk's Letters, pp. 14, 18, 19.

reckon with confidence. With singular economy and prudence, he had saved a large sum from the revenue of his office, and had seventy thousand pounds in cash at his disposal. He accordingly promised payment of their arrears to the officers whom he dismissed, and thus kept them in dependence upon him even after they had left the service. He took the most constant care to keep up a healthier moral feeling among his troops; intelligent non-commissioned officers were employed, in the various meetings of the soldiers, to point out the justice and necessity of the course which the army and its General were pursuing; and little pamphlets were printed, in the form of dialogues between a soldier of the Scottish army and a soldier of the army in England, in which it was shown that every good Englishman was bound, in conscience, to resist the tyranny of Lambert. A few officers, of acknowledged talent, were appointed to write a weekly gazette which was circulated among the troops, and read by them with the utmost avidity. Capable of understanding and directing simultaneously the most opposite springs of action, Monk, while preaching submission to his army, strove diligently to excite the personal enthusiasm and intelligent zeal of his soldiers.[1]

His relations with the Royalists were of a much simpler character; far from attempting to humour them in order to make them his instruments, he absolutely refused all dealings with them, feeling sure that, under any circumstances, they would continue to hope, and that, when the

[1] Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 139–142; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 123–126; Price's Memoirs, p. 50; Baker's Chronicle, p. 721; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 686.

proper moment arrived, their assistance would not be wanting to the execution of his plans. His behaviour towards his two chaplains was a symbol of his attitude towards the two parties; on all occasions and for all purposes, for speaking, writing and conveying messages, he employed the Presbyterian Gumble; while to the Royalist Price he said: "I shall not employ you in any part of my business, and be not discontented at it, for you know not these people so well as I do, and cannot dissemble with them." Gumble was proud of his importance; and Price did not complain of his inactivity.[1]

On the 28th of October, Monk's letters arrived in London, where rumours of the resolution which they announced had already gained currency, and occasioned the greatest disquietude. Ever since it had expelled the Parliament, the army had been striving to constitute a government. Under the name of the Committee of Safety, twenty-three persons, designated by the general council of officers,[2] had been invested with all the powers of the Council of State; but in this body also, all the old factions, all the civil and military cliques, the zealots and moderate men, Fleetwood and Lambert, Vane and Whitelocke, mutually trammelled and nullified one another, either by the discordance of their views, or by their rival aspirations to dominion. A declaration was published in the name of the army, on the 27th of October, to justify what had been done; but though full of well-founded recriminations against the expelled Parliament, it was so weak in defence of its own cause, and so utterly devoid

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 45; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 121, 122.

[2] Between the 17th and 27th of October, 1659.

of authority, that many officers, disregarding its publication, endeavoured to collect together a competent number of members of Parliament, in the hope of being able to induce them to pronounce their own dissolution. Some even entertained the idea of making Richard Cromwell Protector once again; and with his usual readiness to accede to anything that was suggested to him, he came to London on the 26th of October, under the escort of three squadrons of cavalry; but the proposition was rejected, by a few votes only, it is said, in the general council of officers, and Richard returned to Hampton Court, to await patiently their decision regarding him. Colonel Cobbett had been sent into Scotland, and Colonel Barrow into Ireland, to secure the approval of the armies in those countries to all that had been done by their comrades in England; but news arrived that Cobbett, on reaching Berwick, and endeavouring to secure that garrison, had been arrested by order of Monk, who had preceded him in getting possession of the place; and Barrow found the army in Ireland so divided that he was unable to obtain from it any testimony of approbation for the army in England. Even in England, although discord did not openly break out in the general council of officers, several of its members, from conscientious or prudential motives, took care to notify their dissent from its proceedings. On the 1st of November, Colonel Morley and eight other officers addressed a long and eloquent protest to Fleetwood, against the purely military government to which he was giving his support; the governors of several important towns, among others of Portsmouth, were dissatisfied and wavering; and at a

distance from London, in most of the counties, the new ruling power, either because of its own inertness, or from the revolt of public feeling against it, was at once unpopular and ineffective. "Some that are employed in civil and military affairs in this county of Montgomery," wrote an officer to Fleetwood on the 28th of October, "have not received the least express or account from any public person since the dissolution or interruption of the late Parliament. I have been at a meeting for the sequestration and the militia, and there was but one person to join with me. The commissioners of the militia are loath to meddle in it, being themselves unconcerned; and the commissioners for sequestration are also loath to raise moneys, they know not for whom, nor to what end. The army heretofore declared their repentance for their former interruption of the Parliament; we know not but they may please to repent for this also, or else the former repentance is to be repented of. In this country we are not so used to the late Parliament but that if a more righteous settlement be held forth, we shall soon close with it; but we are loath to act by an implicit faith."[1]

On the receipt of Monk's letters, the members of the Committee of Safety, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Sydenham, Vane, Whitelocke, and Ludlow, assembled in all haste at Whitehall, some in surprise, and none with-

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 685, 686; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 303–308; A Declaration of the General Council of the Officers of the Army, agreed on at Wallingford House, on the 27th of October, 1659 (London, printed by Alfred Hills, Printer to the Army); Monk's Letters, pp. 5–9; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 770, 771–774; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 591; Bordeaux to Mazarin, November 3, 1659. See APPENDIX.

out disquietude. What did Monk mean? How were they to act towards him? Vane and Whitelocke expressed their suspicion that he meditated the Restoration of Charles Stuart. Ludlow (who was in intimate alliance with Scott and Haslerig, and constantly vacillated, from scruple rather than weakness, between the Parliament and the army,) was disposed to think better of him. Fleetwood was in deep grief. Lambert offered to march against Monk. All agreed however that it would be better, in the first instance, to endeavour to prevent so dangerous a rupture. It was presumed that Clarges, Monk's brother-in-law, and Talbot, the Colonel of his regiment of infantry, who happened to be in London at the time, would be the best instruments to effect a reconciliation. At midnight, they were sent for; their instructions were given them on the spot, and they were allowed three hours to prepare for the journey. The next morning they set out; and on the same day, Lambert was appointed commander of all the troops in the north of England. He was promised an army of nine or ten thousand men, and ordered, if the attempt at reconciliation should fail, to give Monk battle without delay.[1]

Lambert prepared to depart at once; but the members of a small committee which had been appointed to draw up a scheme of a new constitution—Fleetwood, Vane, Whitelocke, Salloway, Titchborne, and Ludlow—earnestly pressed him to wait until their draft was ready, and had

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 685, 686; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 312; Price's Memoirs, p. 52; Baker's Chronicle, p. 721; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 129-131; Bordeaux to Mazarin, November 6, 1659. See APPENDIX.

received his approbation. "It would very much tend to facilitate his present undertaking," they said, "especially if the establishment designed were so just and equal, that a good man might reasonably adventure his life in defence of it; whereas, on the contrary, if things were left uncertain, and no form of government agreed upon, men would not easily be persuaded to engage for a party, against those who at least pretend to act for the civil authority." Lambert acknowledged the force of these representations; but the necessity to take the field was still more urgent, and he set out notwithstanding the wishes of the committee. "Continue your deliberations," he said, "and send me your resolutions: I promise to approve them."[1]

But nothing can suffice to calm the minds of men who are disturbed at once by a consciousness of their danger, their weakness, and their wrongfulness. Behind the events that were occurring in Scotland, the leaders of the dominant faction in London could clearly perceive the two opposite rivals whom they had successively expelled and outraged,—the Long Parliament and Charles Stuart. Accordingly, no sooner had they despatched Clarges to pacify Monk, and Lambert to give him battle, than, still preyed upon by the same anxiety, they sought in every direction for other means of averting the blow which they foresaw was inevitable. The officers of the army in England wrote to the officers of the Scottish army; Fleetwood replied to Monk's letter with the affectionate and almost suppliant frankness of an old friend, who was less alarmed than grieved by what his comrade had done. A multi-

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 686; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 312.

tude of private letters were sent from London to Dalkeith, with the intention either of awakening sympathy, or sowing division. Five new commissioners were suddenly despatched to Scotland; two officers, Whalley and Goffe, and three ministers, Caryll, Hammond, and Barker,—who, it was thought, would be able to exert a favourable influence either on Monk himself, or on those by whom he was surrounded. Fleetwood sent to him, on his own account, a sixth messenger in the person of Dean, one of the treasurers of the army, an adroit and obstinate Republican, who would be capable of flattering the General while he was labouring to debauch his soldiers. Two new regiments of cavalry were raised in London, and Vane and Whitelocke were appointed their Colonels, in order to prove that the army had some of the Parliamentary leaders on its side. Money was wanting to meet the expenditure, and as there was no longer a Parliament to vote taxes, the only way of raising it was by way of loan from the City. Fleetwood, Whitelocke, and Desborough had two interviews with the Common Council, on the 4th and 8th of November, in reference to this subject. Desborough, at these conferences, endeavoured to justify the officers for having expelled the Parliament. "Many opinions may run," he said, "touching our actions in the late alteration and disturbance. It is said it was only to keep eight or nine officers in their places; but it is very well known some of us have laboured an opportunity to be quit of our commands. Some give out as if we intended to debase magistracy and trample down ministry: but God will bear us witness to the contrary. The truth of it is we are so far from undervaluing a go-

vernment that we always thought a bad one with peace, better than none at all." The loud laughter of his audience at this statement interrupted the speaker. Whitelocke, generally so reserved, went so far as to give expression to his real fears, doubtless in the hope of being able to arouse the old passions of the people. "Beware of the proceedings of Monk," he said; "the bottom of his design is to bring in the King upon a new civil war. You are sufficiently aware of the danger of such disturbances to the City and nation; wherefore I counsel you to provide for your own safety, and to join with us for the preservation of the peace." But Whitelocke was mistaken as to the public feeling of the period; and the utterance of the King's name in the City was fraught with greater danger to the Commonwealth than to to the exiled monarch. The Common Council, as little moved by Whitelocke's apprehensions as by Desborough's apologies, thanked the deputation for their communications, but did not comply with their request.[1]

Whether from policy, or from inability to resist its influence, the new rulers were themselves under the sway of popular feeling to such an extent that, at the very time when they were striving to exasperate the people against the King, they ordered the liberation of six of the principal Royalist leaders who had been detained in custody since Sir George Booth's insurrection,—the Lords Northampton, Falkland, Castleton, Howard, Herbert, and Bel-

[1] Monk's Letters, pp. 21–29; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 686; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 10–17; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 726, 727; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 141–143; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 601; Bordeaux to Turenne, November 10, 1659; Bordeaux to Mazarin, November 10–17, 1659. See APPENDIX.

lasis; and a few weeks afterwards, Lord Fanshaw and Booth himself were also released. "This," says Whitelocke, "was to ingratiate us with the Cavaliers."[1]

Whilst he was thus a cause of terror and anxiety in London, Monk had himself to encounter difficulties and dangers in Scotland. He had endeavoured to secure Carlisle and Newcastle, on the English border, but his officers had failed in their attempts, and those two strongholds still remained in the power of the English army. The answers which he had received from the army in Ireland, from the governors of several important towns (among others from Major-General Overton, who commanded at Hull), and from twenty-two officers of the fleet stationed in the Downs, were far from favourable; they expressed great anxiety as to the consequences of his resolution, and urged him strongly to be reconciled with his comrades in England, who, in spite of their differences of opinion, could not be suspected of entertaining any evil designs against the common cause. In his own army, even after the changes he had made, a considerable number of officers were still wavering; and those whom he had cashiered, but who still remained with their regiments, awaiting the payment of their arrears, laboured hard to shake the fidelity of their comrades. Messengers and letters arrived daily from England, with a view to spread doubt and disloyalty through his camp. Efforts were made, though without success, to tamper with his private secretary, Mr. Clarke. The ministers of the Independent churches, to whom he had made advances in the hope of securing their co-operation, as he was well

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 686, 689.

aware of their influence with the people, met him with coldness and disapprobation. "Lambert's action of turning out the Parliament," they said, "could not be justified; but Monk had not a call to appear against it; he had in charge only to keep Scotland in quiet, and was not bound to take notice of any differences that might happen in England. Why should he put a strife among those that hitherto had been brethren, engaged all along in the same cause, partakers in the same dangers and the same successes, and who still, in their papers and all their addresses, called and owned one another for brethren? Whatever inconveniences should happen would be laid at his door, as he would appear to have been the beginner of the war."[1]

Monk was defending himself, with his usual vigilant calmness, against these internal perplexities, when the commissioners who had been sent to him from London arrived in Edinburgh. The first who made their appearance were Clarges and Talbot, the envoys of the Committee of Safety, and they were soon followed by Dean, the special messenger of Fleetwood. He received them with every demonstration of friendship. He knew he could rely on the intelligent devotedness of Clarges, and on the very evening of his arrival, he had a private conversation with him. "I am astonished," he said, "that Fleetwood and Lambert should have sent you to me; and I think it a good omen to my success that I have you to assist my designs." Clarges frankly asked him

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 55, 56; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 136–138, 142, 143; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 127; Monk's Letters, pp. 32, 38; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 687; Baker's Chronicle, p. 728.

what his designs really were, and told him "that it was impossible for him to be ever trusted again, after this rupture, even if he patched up a peace with the English army." He added that he had observed great consternation among both officers and men in the various garrisons through which he had passed, and that he had no doubt that many of them would join him; but he wished to know what Monk intended to do.[1]

Even to his most intimate confidants, Monk disliked to explain his intentions; and this arose not only from his natural prudence, but from a desire not to bind himself by any words he might utter, and to remain throughout free to act as he thought best. He told Clarges that he was resolved to free his country from the slavery into which it had fallen; and to effect this object, he thought the best expedient would be to restore the Parliament. But if, by the success of his arms, he succeeded in restoring the Parliament, he would make no difference between the members who had at any time sate in it, and would recall the secluded members as well as the others. "But I conjure you to secrecy on this point," he added to Clarges: "it has often been cast in my dish, by some of my ill-willers, that the King is at the bottom of my designs; and the jealousy had on me by the army is so great that all I contrive will be little enough to beget a confidence even in my own party to engage with me.[2]

They then proceeded to compare the means of action which the two parties about to engage in the struggle

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 724; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 133.

[2] Baker's Chronicle, p. 724.

had at their disposal. "I have about seventy thousand pounds in money," said Monk, "part of which is already in my treasury, and the rest will in a short time be paid into it. All my magazines are very well stored with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries; and I have in part modelled my army fit for my purposes; but I shall want a month to draw my men together." Clarges told him that the distress of the English army was very great; that, when Lambert started on his expedition, he had scarcely been able to obtain one month's pay for his troops; and that they would therefore soon be obliged to live at free quarters, which would make them very burdensome and distasteful to the country. "The season also is against them," added Clarges: "so that if by a treaty, or any other means, you can gain time, your business may be done without hazard." Monk agreed that the overture of a treaty which had been made to him by Fleetwood and Lambert might be improved to his great advantage; and on the following morning, he assembled the general council of his officers to take the matter into consideration.[1]

Notwithstanding his taciturn disposition, Monk clearly understood that, in the enterprise in which he had engaged, the mere obedience of his agents would not be sufficient, but that he must have their intelligent and voluntary co-operation. He had accordingly constituted his officers into a grand council, at which all affairs of importance were discussed. In this council, Monk allowed

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 724, 725; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 107, 137; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 686; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 133, 134.

every one to say what he pleased, and spoke little himself; but the indirect pains that he took beforehand to give the right turn to the discussion, and the weight of his authority when the moment arrived for closing the debate, secured the adoption of his own views, at least during this brief period of urgent and vehement action. The propriety of a negotiation with the army in England was admitted at once by the council; such a proceeding satisfied the scruples and removed the hesitation of many of its members. Three commissioners were appointed to proceed to London for the purpose of carrying it on; and the council left their choice to the General. Monk however would only consent to select two, and requested the officers to nominate the third themselves. They chose a person who was most distasteful to him, and whose presence was likely to interfere with the successful prosecution of his designs. But Monk knew how to bear with equanimity any small failures that did not endanger his ultimate triumph. He made no objection to the appointment, and the three commissioners set out for London without delay.[1]

On reaching York, they fell in with Lambert, who had come to take the command of his army, which, it was said, already numbered twelve thousand men. As soon as he ascertained that the three officers of the Scottish army were proceeding to London to negotiate, Lambert urged them to go no further, but to treat with him, for he assured them, with his usual insolent vanity, he had

[1] On the 4th of November, 1659; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 133–135; Price's Memoirs, p. 56; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 140, 144; Monk's Letters, p. 30; Baker's Chronicle, p. 725; Bordeaux to Mazarin, November 20, 1659. See APPENDIX.

all the necessary powers to conclude an accommodation. But when he learned that their instructions were to demand, in the first instance, the restoration of that very Parliament which he had just expelled, Lambert renounced the office of a negotiator, and allowed Monk's commissioners to continue their journey. As however he was in no haste to take the field, he agreed with them that, pending the negotiation, the troops on both sides should make no movement, and that hostilities should not commence. He flattered himself that he had in his hands the means of putting an end, by his own adroitness and without a conflict, to the danger which threatened himself and his friends. At York, he had found General Morgan who, on returning from his campaigns in Flanders, where he had served with distinction under Turenne, had been appointed Major-General of the army in Scotland, and was proceeding to his post when a violent attack of gout had forced him to halt on the road. Lambert went to see his old comrade, and paid him marked attention. Morgan, probably fearing that his liberty might be endangered if he professed other views, censured Monk's conduct very severely, and lamented its probable consequences. Lambert asked him whether he would not do his best to avert them by using his influence, either to induce Monk to alter his determination, or to persuade the Scottish army not to allow itself to be made the instrument of his designs. Morgan consented to do what he could; and at the same time that Monk's commissioners left York to pursue their negotiations in London, Morgan also took his departure for Edinburgh, with instructions to make terms with Monk on Lambert's behalf, or if he

failed in that attempt to tamper with the fidelity of his soldiers.[1]

Monk received Morgan as an old friend, and as an officer of whose ability he had the highest opinion. At their first interview Morgan said to him: "I come to ask you if you will lay down your arms, and be friends with Fleetwood and Lambert." "If they will restore the Parliament," replied Monk, "I have little more to say; and if you please, you may let them know as much." "I promised to ask you the question," answered Morgan, "but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it. I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your fortunes in all your undertakings. You know I am no statesman; I am sure you are a lover of your country; and therefore I will join with you in all your actions, and submit to your prudence and judgment in the conduct of them." And to prove that he was sincere in his protestations, and that they had not been made on the mere spur of the moment, Lambert's messenger delivered to Monk a letter which he had received at York from Dr. Bowles, Fairfax's chaplain, in which the General of the Scottish army was assured of the co-operation of the former General of the Long Parliament, and of a large number of the gentlemen of Yorkshire, if he would only proclaim his opposition to the established government more distinctly and decisively than he had done in his published declaration.[2]

"What you ask would be my ruin," said Monk, "since

[1] Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 137, 138; Price's Memoirs, p. 55; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 688; Baker's Chronicle, p. 725.

[2] Baker's Chronicle, p. 726; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 139; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 143, 144.

all I have writ can scarce prevail with the army to believe I have not a design to set up the King;" and he therefore continued to dissemble. But his conduct daily became more clear and resolute. He sent away from Scotland, without paying them, those cashiered officers who were endeavouring to animate his soldiers against him; "Let them go," he said, "and demand their arrears from the masters whom they serve." He invited the principal Scottish nobles, and a certain number of deputies from the counties and towns, to assemble in Edinburgh. They responded to his summons with alacrity. Monk received them in presence of his English officers, whose suspicions he was most careful to lull, announced to them that he was about to leave Scotland and march into England to defend the laws and public liberties of the nation, and requested them to support his plans by paying into his treasury the taxes which were in arrear, and by maintaining order during his absence both on the borders and in the interior of the country. They would gladly, in their turn, have asked and offered more than this; but Monk, without offending them, postponed the consideration of their claims, restrained their zeal, and received their promise to do what he had required of them; and sure that they perfectly understood his intentions although he had made no definite statement to them, he dismissed the assembly, after appointing a second conference at Berwick, in order that, at the moment when he actually went out of their country, he might, in concert with them, adopt those final measures which he considered necessary to its safety.[1]

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 57; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 146–151; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 143, 166; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 688.

It is easy to deceive those who are willing to be deceived, provided that appearances are saved, and that they may one day be able to say, if circumstances require it, that they have been misled. Most of those by whom Monk was surrounded desired no more than this. Some few however, less disposed to close their eyes to what was going on around them, felt alarmed at the dangers into which they were being hurried; and Treasurer Dean, Fleetwood's envoy in Scotland, though treated with great kindness by Monk, audaciously fomented their apprehensions. Passing one day in front of a company of infantry, he told them: "My Lord Lambert is coming upon you, and all Monk's army will not be enough for a breakfast for him." "Lambert has a very good stomach this cold weather," replied the offended soldiers, "if he can eat pikes and swallow bullets." On another occasion, at the General's own table, Dean, in the heat of argument, went so far as to say that, by dividing the army, Monk had taken the best means to bring back Charles Stuart. "It is you that will bring him in," retorted Chaplain Price indignantly; "for ye in England have more than justified the late King; for he did but demand five members of the House of Commons, and ye have dissolved a whole Parliament." Dean made no answer; the other guests smiled; a few minutes after, Monk left the room, and sent for his chaplain. "Mr. Price," he said, "you know that I desired that you would not meddle or make with these people; pray let them alone: I can be undone by none but you and my wife." But Monk's anxious prudence never slackened his vigour when the hour of action arrived. As soon as he considered

himself in a condition to commence the campaign, he sent Dean away from Scotland with a severe reprimand for his arrogance; dismissed in the same manner Colonel Barrett, who had come from Ireland to injure him by similar intrigues; despatched his brother-in-law Clarges to London, with instructions to stop at York to confer with Fairfax's chaplain; issued orders to his troops to begin their march; and went forward himself, with his staff, on the 18th of November, 1659, to Haddington, some miles from Edinburgh, on the road to England.[1]

He had but just arrived, and was dining with his officers, when two commissioners, coming in from London, delivered to him a packet of despatches from the Committee of Safety. Monk opened it, read the papers, gave them for perusal to those who were present, retired to his own room without saying a word, and returned the next morning to Edinburgh.

The document which had produced this alteration in his plans was a treaty in nine articles, for the reconciliation of the two armies, which Monk's commissioners had negotiated and concluded, in three days, with the representatives of the Committee of Safety. On their arrival in London, on the 12th of November, they had been at once surrounded, circumvented, cajoled, intimidated. They had been persuaded, at one time, that Lambert's infinitely superior force would destroy Monk's army in a few days; and at another, that if discord continued to prevail between the two armies, the good old cause would be ruined, and that they might cover themselves with

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 54; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 726, 727; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 140.

glory by promptly restoring union. Colonel Wilks, the commissioner whom Monk had not selected, immediately adopted the propositions made by Fleetwood's officers; the other two, Major Knight and Lieutenant-Colonel Asberry, forgetting that Monk had expressly enjoined them to make it their chief endeavour to gain time, allowed themselves to be persuaded; and on the 15th of November, they had signed an accommodation which renewed all the old Republican pledges against Charles Stuart and every form of monarchical government, made no provision for the recall of the expelled Long Parliament, merely promised the speedy convocation of a new Parliament, left the administration of the country in the meanwhile in the hands of a general council of officers in which the officers of the English army retained a certain preponderance, and prepared the way for the disorganization of the Scottish army by subjecting to the decision of a mixed committee the validity of the commissions of those officers whom Monk had latterly appointed in the stead of those whom he was unable to trust. In short, the treaty involved the ruin of Monk, the destruction of his power, the dispersion of his partisans, and the frustration of his designs.[1]

On his return to Edinburgh, where rumours of the terms of the accommodation were already rife, Monk found his staff in great excitement; those officers especially, whose recent promotion was called in question, were loud in their denunciations of the proposed arrangement. Monk strode silently up and down the council-chamber, listening to the angry conversations and

[1] Bordeaux to Mazarin, November 24–27, 1659. See APPENDIX.

discontented murmurs of his officers. Chaplain Gumble entered the room. "How now?" said the General to him; "what say you to this agreement?" "Truly, Sir," he answered; "I have not yet seen it; but I hear so well of it, that I am come to make a little request to you this morning." "What is that, I wonder?" demanded Monk. "Even that you would sign me a pass to go into Holland," replied the chaplain: "yonder is a ship at Leith that is ready to set sail." "What!" exclaimed the General; "will you now leave me?" "I know not," answered Gumble, "how you may shift for yourself by your greatness, but be confident that they will never be at rest till they have torn you from your command, and what they will do with you then it concerns you to consider; but for my part, though I am a poor man, I will never put myself into their power, for I know it will not be for my safety." "Will you lay the blame upon me?" cried Monk; "if the army will stick to me, I will stick to them." All who heard him exclaimed that they were ready to live and die with their General; some went out to communicate the good tidings to their comrades; and the room was soon surrounded by crowds of officers, subalterns, and soldiers, all burning with the same enthusiasm. The movement was so general and resolute that the malecontents did not venture to express their dissent. A general council of officers was immediately convoked, in which it was proposed that the treaty should be utterly repudiated, and that the commissioners who had signed it should be accused of treason, as having exceeded their powers. But Monk was fully aware of the embarrassments which result from the adoption of

extreme resolutions, and of the reaction by which they are invariably accompanied. He gave it as his opinion that it would be better merely to declare that, as some of the articles of the treaty were obscure and required interpretation, it could not be immediately ratified; and to suggest that the negotiations should be continued, that two additional commissioners should be appointed on each side, to assist those already nominated, and that, in order that they might be nearer the scene of action, they should transfer their place of meeting from London to some town in the north of England, such as Alnwick or Newcastle, where they should treat definitively of peace. This advice met with unanimous approval; the council broke up, leaving the General serene, and the officers joyful; the messengers of the Committee of Safety were sent back to their masters with these new propositions; no alteration was made in the orders which had been given for the forward movement of the army; and Monk prepared at once to leave Edinburgh, and remove his head-quarters to Berwick.[1]

When this intelligence reached London, it produced the greatest disappointment and consternation. The party leaders in the capital had flattered themselves that the treaty had put an end to all further disagreement, and hoped that they had out-manœuvred their enemy, whereas they now found that they were out-manœuvred themselves. Their ill-humour was vented in the first instance on Lambert, who still lay motionless at York or

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 55; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 151–155; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 146–152; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 729–731; Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 688, 689; Monk's Letters, pp. 34–37; Bordeaux to Mazarin, December 5–11, 1659. See APPENDIX.

Newcastle, though very superior in force to his antagonist. Before this, when it was discovered that he had allowed Monk's three commissioners to pass through his camp without hindrance, and had even promised not to commence hostilities until the negotiations were at an end, several members of the Committee had expressed their disapprobation of his conduct, and Whitelocke had recommended that he should be ordered to attack Monk without delay, "for," said he, "Monk seeks delays, and his intentions are not for peace." But his advice was not adopted. He had afterwards returned to the charge on several occasions, and was constantly beseeching Fleetwood "not to be too credulous of Monk's pretences." When the messengers of the Committee returned from Edinburgh, with the announcement that Monk refused to ratify the treaty, and bearing a complimentary letter in which he explained to Fleetwood his motives for proposing the prolongation of the negotiations,— "This also," said Whitelocke, "is only a delay in Monk to gain time, and be the better prepared for his design to bring in the King, and to bring the Scottish army here, and to throw our party into more straits for want of pay, which he has got for his forces. Wherefore I advise that Lambert fall upon Monk presently, to bring the matter to an issue, before his soldiers grow more confident, and our party more discouraged." But Whitelocke, on this occasion also, was equally unsuccessful in obtaining the adoption of his advice; and the Committee, instead of ordering an attack, authorized the resumption of negotiations.[1]

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 688, 689.

Whitelocke, who saw so clearly through the designs of Monk, might have advantageously extended his observations to other quarters. In this general disorganization of the Commonwealth, nearly all the important men, and the leaders of the army more especially, were seeking by all sorts of devices to secure for themselves the favour of the government which was to succeed it. Lambert had been for some time in regular communication with the Royalists; he was even regarded by one portion of their body, namely the Catholics, with marked preference; whilst the Presbyterians were in general favourable to Monk. Lambert had been encouraged to hope that the Duke of York might marry his daughter: and when circumstances became more pressing, the vanity and zeal of the negotiators were carried still further; towards the end of October, at the time when Lambert was leaving London to take the field against Monk, Lord Hatton wrote to Hyde: "I have received from a very good hand a motion, which I am limited to declare only to yourself and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, to be communicated only to the King, and humbly to beg the assurance from his Majesty, upon the word of a King, that he will impart it to no person else. . . . It is thought by the movers in this business, that no security can serve him who can settle the King in his three thrones, but such a bond as the established law of the nation cannot violate or break: and that is, that the King should marry the Lord Lambert's daughter. The grounds of the motion are, the great ease and speed of settling the King's business this way rather than any other. The many difficulties and very hard conditions which, it is believed, are

found in all other ways, will be cut off, it being in this case the lady's fate and interest that so it should be. And it is believed, no foreign aid will be so cheap, nor leave our master at so much liberty as this way. The race is a very good gentleman's family, and Kings have condescended to gentlewomen and subjects. The lady is pretty, of an extraordinary sweetness of disposition, and very virtuously and ingenuously disposed; the father is a person, set aside his unhappy engagement, of very great parts, and very noble inclinations, and certainly more capable of being passed by than the rest. I have delivered my message, and am next to desire you will speed away to me your two opinions whether you think fit to move it to our master or not. If you think it not fit, let me know, and let it die, and burn this letter. If you find cause to propose it, then put all the expedition to it that may be; and if our master approve it, then let that be drawn up into a letter, with very hearty expressions, and sufficient authority to the party to whom it shall be addressed." As might have been expected, no answer was returned to this proposition; Cromwell, a more high-minded and sensible man, had rejected the possibility of such overtures being made to his own daughter. But day after day, from all the sections of the revolutionary party, advances of an equally complaisant and presumptuous character were made to Charles in his exile. In the midst of this general reaction, even Fleetwood did not remain behindhand; after the defeat of Sir George Booth, Mr. Littleton wrote to Hyde: "Fleetwood was made so sensible of his duty, or (I fear) rather his interest, that if his Majesty had appeared at

the head of an army, he was resolved to come over to his party; and he continues yet so firm to these impressions, that his Majesty may be very confident he will not fail of all the assistance he is able to bring him, upon the next conjuncture of his affairs." To which communication Hyde replied on the 10th of October: "The character which we have always received of the man, is not such as makes him equal to any notable design, or to be much relied on to-morrow for what in truth he resolved to do yesterday. However, as his wit is not so great as some of the rest, so his wickedness is much less apparent; and therefore industry and dexterity must be used to dispose and confirm him in his good inclinations, and let him take his own time for the manifestation of it." And in a letter written on the next day, he adds: "If the two crowns [of France and Spain] will but frankly declare that they will have nothing to do with these mad fellows, who have no form or order of government, nor any rules to live by among themselves, or towards other men, we should quickly make an end of the work; and a little more money than, twenty years since, would have served to have purchased five of our western manors, would now serve to purchase the kingdom."[1]

Hyde was mistaken in his insolent opinion, as it frequently happens to men who have had long experience of human weakness and turpitude. It was not the venality of a few leaders, but the general tendency of the nation, enlightened and wearied out by its own errors, which was to place the sceptre once more in the hands

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 588, 591, 592, 599, 606, 551, 577, 579.

of a Stuart; and if public opinion had not undergone a change, Charles might in vain have bought the great personages who offered themselves for purchase. Moreover, even in their ranks, the defection was neither so ready nor so complete as Hyde took pleasure in representing it; at the same time that so many were returning, from sincere or corrupt motives, to their allegiance to royalty, there were not wanting numerous examples of conscientious devotion and blind attachment to the Commonwealth. The leading civilians more especially, Vane, Haslerig, Scott, Neville, Harrington, and Milton, even in the midst of their dissensions, would never admit that their cause would be lost, whatever reverses it might suffer; and they remained its defenders at all risks, in the expectation that they might become its martyrs.

Those among them who were supporters of the expelled Parliament, with Haslerig at their head, watched Monk with suspicious sympathy; nothing could be more in accordance with their views than his language and his actions, but they hesitated to put confidence in the man. They were besides rather offended with him because, when he sent commissioners to London to treat with the general council of officers, he had taken no notice of them, the very men whose cause he had espoused. Haslerig had retired to Woodstock, saying that he was determined not to furnish the Royalists with any pretext for taking up arms, and that it would be better to grant all the demands of the army than, by opposing them, to incur any such danger. However, when these sturdy Parliamentarians saw Monk unfurl the banner of the

Long Parliament so unhesitatingly,—when they learned that he had refused to ratify the treaty which had been concluded in London by his commissioners, and in which their interests were abandoned,—they began to feel that they might trust an ally who had acted with such firmness, and they resolved to give him immediate proofs of their confidence. On the 19th of November, nine members of the old Council of State met quietly in London, under the presidency of Scott, and signed a letter, in which they expressed their gratitude to Monk for his fidelity to the Parliament, approved of all he had hitherto done with so much courage and wisdom, and pledged themselves to stand and fall with him in defence of the good cause which he had so highly owned in his Declaration. One of Haslerig's servants was sent with this letter into Scotland; and six days afterwards, the same Committee, after making some few futile reservations, appointed Monk General-in-chief of all the forces of England and Scotland, and secretly sent him his commission.[1]

Nothing could have been more in accordance with Monk's wishes, or have rendered him more effectual service in the prosecution of his designs. He had now a legitimate right to use the cloak with which he had hitherto covered his real purpose; his acts were sanctioned by the last surviving representatives of that old Parliament whose servant he professed himself to be. He now took up his quarters at Berwick, and collected his troops together in that place, that he might be ready to enter England as soon as the moment for action

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 732; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 155, 156; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 311.

should arrive. Other news of a no less favourable character soon reached him from various quarters. Early in December Colonel Whetham, the Governor of Portsmouth, declared in favour of the re-establishment of the Parliament, invited Haslerig into the town, and the troops which were sent from London to attack him went over to his side. A similar movement, fomented by Lord Broghill, who concealed his royalist tendencies far less carefully than Monk had done, took place in Ireland, and Captain Campbell was sent into Scotland with instructions to inform Monk of the views of his comrades, and to offer him a reinforcement of troops, if he should require it. The Irish brigade, which was serving in England in Lambert's army, entertained the same opinions. The news which was received from the fleet led to the belief that the dominant faction in London had lost all credit with the sailors, and that Admiral Lawson, the commanding officer, would ere long declare in favour of the recall of the Parliament. Lord Fairfax sent his cousin Bryan Fairfax to Monk, with the assurance that, on the 1st of January, he would be ready to rise in arms in Yorkshire, and with the request that Monk would keep watch on Lambert, that he might not be able to take measures to prevent or suppress the promised insurrection. "Tell my Lord Fairfax not to be uneasy," said Monk, embracing the young messenger; "I will watch Lambert as a cat watches a mouse, and a troop of horse shall not move but I will follow them." Lambert was in no haste to commence the attack; he waited, intrigued, complained that his troops were not paid, and in the meanwhile allowed them to commit excesses which

brought both him and them into discredit; to cover his own inaction by their objections, he held frequent council with his officers; and though his embarrassments daily increased, he could find no better remedy than sending messages to Monk to complain of his proceedings, to urge the resumption of negotiations, and debate trivial questions relating to passports and places of conference.[1]

Monk might well congratulate himself on having gained time, for time alone had disorganized, and almost vanquished, his enemies. And his silence had been as successful as his patience; his real object remained as doubtful and obscure as he could wish it to be. In his immediate neighbourhood as well as at a distance, his adherents no less than his adversaries were full of uncertainty and anxiety. One of his officers, not a Royalist, while in friendly conversation one evening with his chaplain Price, constantly recurred to this inquiry: "Do you think the General is for the King?" Price endeavoured, but with little success, to convince him that this was not the case. The conversation was continued to such a late hour of the night that the officer was obliged to sleep in the chaplain's room. His suspicions however agitated him to such a degree that he awoke suddenly, and exclaimed, "The General is certainly for the King;" upon which Price begged him to dismiss so ridiculous an idea from his mind, and to let him sleep in peace. But by dint of taking so much pains to lull the suspi-

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 311–314; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 689; Baker's Chronicle, p. 733; Price's Memoirs, p. 70; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 171, 174; Bell's Fairfax Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 151–173; Morrice's Memoirs of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, chap. v. p. 31.

cions of his Republican friend, the Royalist chaplain at last grew disquieted in his own mind, and began to doubt whether Monk really intended to restore the King. Unable to endure this uncertainty, and impatient to have his doubts removed, and again to urge on his impenetrable patron the necessity of adopting a decided resolution, Price went one night, very late, into the General's room. Monk was lying in his clothes, asleep on two chairs, near the fire. On being suddenly awoke, he graciously allowed his anxious chaplain to reiterate to him his ardent desire that he would restore at length what Price always called "the old laws of England," and to express his deep grief that he should, by word and deed, continue to declare himself the champion of the Long Parliament. "Mr. Price," said Monk, "you see who are about me; I must not show any dislike of them; I perceive they are jealous enough of me already. But I know your meaning, and I have long known it. By the grace of God, I will do it, if ever I can find it in my power; and I do not much doubt but that I shall." He then rose, and taking both Price's hands in his own, he repeated: "By God's help, I will do it;" and so dismissed his chaplain, who thenceforward entertained no doubt of his General's purpose.[1]

The time for action now drew near; Monk's troops were assembled at Berwick; after the dismissal or desertion of all on whom he could not rely, his army consisted of six regiments of infantry, each a thousand men strong, and four of cavalry, incomplete in number and badly mounted; but all veteran and well-disciplined soldiers,

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 70, 71.

accustomed to the severe and active life of garrison-duty in Scotland, impatient to return to the more abundant plenty and milder climate of England, and full of confidence in their General. Although Lambert's army was still superior in numbers to his own, Monk no longer feared it; he was well aware of the mental anxiety and material embarrassments to which it was a prey. At the head of his staff, he personally reconnoitred the banks of the Tweed, in search of the point at which it would be most convenient for him to enter England, and the best ford by which to cross the river. He selected Coldstream, a small, mean, and badly-built town, where there was an excellent ford, and in the neighbourhood of which he could safely canton his troops. Here he established his head-quarters, in a miserable hovel, where one room served him both by day and by night, and which was so scantily supplied with provisions that, on arriving there in the evening, he could find nothing to eat, and walked about for some time chewing tobacco, until his attendants succeeded in obtaining for him a scanty supper. His wife, who would never consent to remain at a distance from him, came to share this wretched habitation with him, but he sent her back at once to Berwick, whither he soon afterwards returned himself, in order to receive the Scottish nobles and deputies, whom he had appointed to meet him there. They arrived at Berwick on the 13th of December, in large numbers and great enthusiasm, declaring they were ready to supply him with six thousand infantry and fifteen hundred horse, if, in return, he would supply them with arms, and consent to certain measures which would have placed the defence

and internal police of Scotland once more in their hands. After having consulted with his officers, Monk refused both their offers of assistance and their demands. "If I should draw all the men from my garrisons," he said, "I could quickly make my army equal to Lambert's in number; but this I decline to do, being unwilling to put Scotland out of English hands." His army regarded the Scotch with mingled feelings of disdain and distrust. Monk gave them reason to anticipate a better future, allowed them to send a messenger to the King (without however entering into any engagement that might compromise himself), obtained from them a sum of sixty thousand pounds, and dismissed them, if not satisfied, at least hopeful. He himself returned to Coldstream to make final arrangements for his approaching expedition.[1]

News of his movements was awaited, in London, with the most impatient perplexity; and a thousand contradictory reports were circulated every day regarding him; at one time, it was said that he had entered England and was advancing without opposition; at another time, it was asserted that Lambert had attacked and defeated him. These rumours were, generally speaking, favourable to Monk; for, although it was not accurately known what he was doing and intended to do, popular favour was on his side in London. On the 12th of November, shortly after publishing his first resolutions, he had written to the Common Council of the City to explain his purpose, and request their support; the Council, in

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 66, 67; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 162–164, 175–179; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 158–161, 166–169; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 732–734; Bordeaux to Mazarin, December 8, 1659. See APPENDIX.

whose presence his letter had not been opened and read until after considerable delay and an animated debate, had not dared to send him any answer; but as the progress of events gave Monk the ascendency, the citizens of London gradually recovered courage; nearly all the friends of the ruling government were deprived of their municipal functions by new elections; the City fell into a state of continual ferment; petitions were signed, demanding the convocation of a free Parliament, and the appointment of a new Protector; and the name of Richard Cromwell was again put forward. The Committee of Safety prohibited all such petitions: the result was that bands of apprentices paraded through the streets, shouting, "A free Parliament!" Colonel Hewson entered the City with his regiment; he was received with hisses and hootings. He attempted to arrest some of the ringleaders; they resisted; his soldiers fired, and two young men were killed. This put an end to processions; but bitter speeches, insulting gestures, and intentional slights were lavished by the populace on the officers and soldiers, who, to avoid molestation, either never went out singly, or appeared in the streets without their uniform and arms. Associations were formed, in London and the provinces, to refuse the payment of all taxes which had not been voted by Parliament. A plot was laid for surprising the Tower; it was discovered and frustrated; but its authors, with Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and Scott at their head, addressed and published a letter to Fleetwood, on the 16th of December, in which they boasted of their design. "It was," they said, "an action so honest and honourable, as would not only have

given check to the exorbitances of Wallingford House and Whitehall, but was almost necessary to the preservation of the peace and safety of this great city. . . . But God," they added, "has, we trust, raised up a deliverer; having, by admirable Providence, put an opportunity and power into the hands of General Monk, the ablest and most experienced commander of these nations, who is warranted in his present actings by especial commission and authority from the Council of State; whereas your power is only that of the sword."[1]

Thus attacked and braved at their very doors, and threatened by Haslerig, who was master of Portsmouth, which had been placed in his hands by the governor, and had thus become a rendezvous for all malecontents, the general council of officers learned that a desertion of a more serious character, that of the fleet, was ere long to be expected. Admiral Lawson, a gallant sailor and honest Republican, unable to endure a doubtful position for any length of time, had brought his ships into the Thames, and declared that he would obey no authority but that of the Parliament. Vane, who had great influence with him, was sent to him in all haste; but Vane arrived too late at Gravesend: Ashley Cooper and Scott had preceded him, and entirely possessed themselves of the mind of the Admiral. They even refused to hold any converse with Vane, and Lawson had great difficulty in obtaining their consent to see him on board his ship.

[1] Monk's Letters, p. 45; Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 689–691; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 624, 626, 627, 631; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 326; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 795, 797; Wingrove Cooke's Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury, vol. ii. pp. 213–215; Bordeaux to Mazarin, December 15, 1659. See APPENDIX.

The conference was to no purpose; and Vane returned to London to announce to his colleagues in the Committee of Safety that all hope of securing the support of Lawson was at an end.[1]

Discord is a contagious disease which penetrates into the inmost recesses of the body which it attacks, and never ceases its work until it has dissolved even the most substantial elements of which that body was composed. The leaders of the dominant faction, both soldiers and civilians, though engaged in the pursuit of the same object, and threatened by the same imminent ruin, would now no longer agree on any point, and gave loose to their dissensions with passionate earnestness. In the two committees which had been appointed to prepare a constitution and an electoral law, Vane displayed more intractability than he had ever before manifested, and refused to give up any one of his views in regard to State organization or social reform. Various acts were laid before Whitelocke, to which he was required to affix the Great Seal; as some of them contained articles contrary to the established laws of the land, he declared that he could not seal them without violating his oath. "Then we will seal them ourselves," said one of the officers who were present. "I am ready to deliver up the seal to you," replied Whitelocke; "it is there ready for you, if you please to take it from me." "It cannot be well," declared another officer, "when in such a time as this a lawyer is entrusted with so great a charge as the keeping

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 690, 691; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 326; Baker's Chronicle, p. 735; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 629; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 795; Bordeaux to Mazarin, December 18, 1659. See APPENDIX.

of the Great Seal; and it were more proper for some who have endured the dangers of the war, and adventured their lives for the service of the Commonwealth, to have the keeping of the Seal, than for a lawyer, who has not undergone dangers as others have." Whitelocke protested against this, and reminded the officers of the services rendered to the Commonwealth, and of the dangers incurred in its defence, by Ireton, St. John, Reynolds, and other members of the disparaged class of lawyers; and he referred to his own embassy to Queen Christina as an instance of what he had himself done for the State. The quarrel grew warm, and serious consequences might have ensued, had not Fleetwood interposed, and reprimanded the Colonel who had cast such undeserved reproaches on the men of law. Ludlow, who was equally sincere in his attachment to the army and in his respect for the Parliament, strove ineffectually to reconcile Vane with Haslerig, and to persuade Desborough to cease to accuse the Parliamentarians of having ruined their common cause. No one cared any longer for the common cause; every one was guided merely by his own personal ideas and feelings. There no longer existed a government, or even a party; there was an assembly, without any bond of union, of a number of men who were irritated against each other, who distrusted one another, and who dispersed at haphazard or came into collision, like distracted blind men, soon to fall altogether into the same abyss.[1]

Whitelocke, the least passionate and most judicious of

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 689, 690; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 308, 309, 315; Bordeaux to Mazarin, December 22, 1659. See APPENDIX.

them all, was under no illusion with regard to the nullity of their power and the imminence of their danger. On the 22nd of December, 1659, he went to see Fleetwood. "I am come," he said, "to discourse freely with you about our present condition, and what is fit to be done in this exigency of our affairs. It is more than evident that Monk's design is to bring in the King, and that without any terms for the Parliament party, whereby all our lives and fortunes will be at the mercy of the King and his party, who are sufficiently enraged against us, and in need of repairing their broken fortunes. The inclinations of the Presbyterian party generally, and of many others, and of the City, and most of the Parliament's old friends, are the same way; and so are a great part of the soldiery. The troops here are revolted from us, so are those in the north under Lambert, and those at Portsmouth and other places. Monk will easily delude Haslerig and the rest of the old Parliament-men, and all the incensed Lords and secluded members will be and are active in this design. So that the coming in of the King is unavoidable; and (being that must be) I think it will be more prudent for you and your friends to bring him in, than to leave it to Monk. By this means, you may make terms with the King for preservation of yourself and your friends, and of that cause (in a good measure) in which we have been engaged; but, if it be left to Monk, we, and all that has been done, will be left to the danger of destruction. I therefore propound to you to do one of these two things: either to give order for all your forces to draw together, place yourself and your friends at the head of them, and see what strength you

can make that will stand by you; and accordingly take your resolution. If you find your strength but small, as I fear you will, go to the Tower with the few you have, and take possession of it; and send to the Mayor and Common Council of London to join with you to declare for a free Parliament; which I think the city will willingly do, and furnish you with money for your soldiers, which will increase their numbers." Fleetwood hereupon asked Whitelocke if he would go with him into the field and to the Tower. Whitelocke said he would. "But what," inquired Fleetwood, "is the other way that you have to propound to me in this exigency?" "It is this," replied Whitelocke; "that you should immediately send away some person of trust to the King at Breda, to offer him the services of yourself and your friends for restoring him to his right, and that, upon such terms as the King shall agree to; and for this purpose, you must give instructions to the party whom you send upon this affair." "Would you be willing," said Fleetwood, "to go yourself upon this employment?" Whitelocke answered that he would go, if Fleetwood thought good to send him.

After some further conversation, Fleetwood seemed to have made up his mind, and requested Whitelocke to prepare to set out that same evening or early the next morning, and in the meanwhile he would prepare his instructions. Whitelocke was going away, but in the antechamber, he met Vane, Desborough, and Berry, coming to speak with Fleetwood, who thereupon desired him to wait a little. Whitelocke waited, suspecting what would be the issue of their conversation. In about a quarter

of an hour, Fleetwood came to him in great excitement, and said, "I cannot do it, I cannot do it." "And why not?" asked Whitelocke. "These gentlemen have remembered me," answered Fleetwood; "and it is true that I am engaged not to do any such thing without my Lord Lambert's consent." "But Lambert," urged Whitelocke, "is at too great a distance to give his consent to this business, which must be done instantly." Fleetwood again said, "I cannot do it without him." "Then you will ruin yourself and your friends," replied Whitelocke. "I cannot help it," groaned Fleetwood; and so they parted.[1]

Vane and Desborough were probably not very much surprised by the proposition which Whitelocke had made to Fleetwood, for it would appear that, even among themselves, in the general council of officers, the recall of the King had been suggested as the only means of re-establishing peace throughout the nation. But this suggestion had been immediately rejected. "Even if he were fully determined to keep his promises to us, we could not," it was said, "trust to him for our safety, for his Parliament, when assembled, would not ratify his promises, and we should be undone." One practicable and salutary expedient alone appeared to them to be left: and that was to convoke a new Parliament on their own authority, and to secure to themselves, while they were still the masters, a majority, or at least a strong party of its members. This they at once resolved to do; and on the 15th of December, they published a proclamation,

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 690, 691; Bordeaux to Brienne, December 29, 1659. See APPENDIX.

announcing that Parliament would meet on the 24th of January following. But how were the intervening six weeks to be passed, with the country in such a state of powerless and degraded anarchy? No authority, not even military authority, could any longer obtain obedience, or indeed dare to lay claim to it. Bands of soldiers roamed throughout the country, levying taxes, and harassing and threatening friends as well as enemies. A party of these insolent vagabonds came one day to the village, and even to the manor-house, in which Colonel Hutchinson resided. He demanded of them by what authority they had come; pointing to their swords, they replied, "There is our authority." "This behaviour will bring back the Stuarts," said the Colonel. "Never while I wear that," answered a soldier, laying his hand on his sword. Mrs. Hutchinson complained to the Colonel of their regiment, who wrote to her to disown all knowledge of their conduct, and to promise that they should be punished. When she showed them the letter, they tore it in pieces with jeers and laughter. A captain was sent to inquire into their misdemeanours, but they made light of him, even in Mrs. Hutchinson's presence, and he was forced to retire. Similar scenes occurred in every place where troops were quartered, and took it into their heads to disband. No one any longer exercised any real command over the army, and the army was the uncontrolled master of the country.[1]

This state of things was soon regarded with disgust

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 319; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 690; Hutchinson's Memoirs, pp. 289–291; Bordeaux to Mazarin, December 25–29, 1659. See APPENDIX.

and dissatisfaction by the soldiers themselves, at least by those who formed the garrison of London, among whom greater discipline had been maintained, and who had gradually acquired some sympathy with the feelings of the general population. They were filled with shame at hearing the army and its leaders incessantly cursed. They too instinctively felt that a Parliament was necessary for the government of their country. But what need had they to wait for the assembling of the Parliament that had been promised them? They had one ready at hand, which they had long been accustomed to obey, and which had long governed with success. It had evidently been a mistake and a crime to expel that Parliament, for on two occasions, that act of violence had turned to the prejudice of its perpetrators. The news which arrived from every quarter, from the fleet, from Lambert's army, from the regiments that had been sent to recapture Portsmouth, announced that the same opinion had been, or was on the point of being, proclaimed and adopted everywhere. The Parliamentarians who were then in London deemed that the auspicious moment had arrived; Scott and some other members of the old Council of State met at the house of the Speaker Lenthall, and in concert with him, resuming the power which no rival now disputed with them, ordered the troops to assemble in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where they were passed in review by Colonels Alured and Okey, both of whom were entirely devoted to the cause of the Parliament. When the review was over, the troops put themselves in order of march; and, on arriving in Chancery Lane, they halted in front of the house of the Speaker, whom they saluted

with loud cheers. Lenthall came out into the street, and, amid the joyous acclamations of the soldiers, received from the assembled officers confessions of their repentance, and promises that they would thenceforward remain constantly faithful to the Parliament. Thus deserted by their army, the Generals abdicated at once, each of them making terms for himself and in his own way, according to the ply of his character or the nature of his apprehensions. Desborough left London in all haste, with the intention of seeking refuge in Lambert's camp. Fleetwood, with contrite heart, recognizing the justice of God, "who," he said, "has spit in our faces," lost no time in sending the keys of the House of Commons to Lenthall, with a message that the guards had been withdrawn, and that the members might return thither whenever they pleased. Miller, the Governor of the Tower, likewise sent in his submission to the Speaker, and declared himself ready to receive his orders. Lenthall and his colleagues went into the City and conferred with the Lord Mayor and Common Council; and on the evening of the 26th of December, after a preliminary meeting at Whitehall, about forty members, with Lenthall at their head, proceeded to Westminster on foot and by torchlight, and re-entered their House, amid the applause of the scattered groups of soldiers whom they encountered on their way.[1]

As on their first return to the same place of assembly, on the previous 7th of May, so on this second occasion

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 690, 691; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 341; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 28; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 637, 647; Bordeaux to Mazarin, January 5, 1660. See APPENDIX.

of their restoration, they began their proceedings with an act of tyranny. Twenty-three of the members who had been excluded in 1648 (and among them the indomitable Prynne), again presented themselves to assert their right and resume their seats in the House. They were again refused admittance. They remained about the door, and insisted on being allowed to enter. Colonel Alured, who was in command of the guard, embarrassed by the act of iniquity to which he was thus made a party, allowed them to come into the lobby, and acted as intermediary in the parley which ensued between them and the House. After they had waited an hour, he reported to them that, in answer to their application, the House had voted that "on the 5th of January, it would take the business of the *absent* members into consideration." On receiving this hypocritical affront, the twenty-three *present* but excluded members withdrew, resolved to prove themselves as jealous of their dignity as of their rights.[1]

Meanwhile Lambert at Newcastle, Monk at Coldstream, and Fairfax at Nun-Appleton, were watching each other with mutual attention, and making preparations for attack. As he suffered severely from the stone and from gout, and was rarely able to mount on horseback, Fairfax was regarded, by those who did not know him, as a worn-out old man, incapable of any active undertaking: "his soul," it was said, "now only serves as salt to keep his body from putrefaction." His old companions in arms during the civil war, however, who had become his opponents under the Commonwealth, judged him very differently: they well remembered his warlike ardour,

[1] Old Parliamentary History, xxii. pp. 29–33.

and the great ascendency which he exercised over his soldiers; and Colonel Robert Lilburne, who had been appointed by Lambert to watch his movements, always kept some squadrons in readiness to march to any place at which he might appear. Finding himself thus menaced, Fairfax resolved to anticipate the day which he had announced to Monk for his promised rising; and getting into his carriage, he travelled through the county of York, sending messengers in every direction, assembling his friends, and even endeavouring to draw over to his side some of Lambert's officers, with whom he had continued to maintain friendly relations. A number of gentlemen came to join him with their servants, untrained and badly armed. "I am beholden," said Fairfax, "to these gentlemen that come so willingly to venture their lives on this occasion, but it troubles me that I should bring them into this danger, for we have to do with old soldiers. If I had but such a troop of horse as I had at the beginning of the war, I could march with them where I pleased." He soon received more effective reinforcements; several of Lambert's officers came over to him with their companies. As he drew near to York, the Irish brigade, which was still incorporated in the Republican army, but which had placed itself in a sort of neutral position between Lambert and Monk, sent three of its leaders to him, to offer to join him if he would pledge himself to reject every proposition for the restoration of monarchical government. Fairfax indignantly tore up the paper which they presented to him, and mounting his horse in spite of his gout, placed himself at the head of his troops, and prepared for battle. "Then he began to be another man,"

said one of those who accompanied him; "his motions were so quick, his eyes so sparkling, he gave the word of command so like a General, that we took heart, and could readily have charged with him." No engagement however took place; the Cavaliers, who were numerous in York, opened the gates of the city to Fairfax and his army; and notwithstanding the approach of Lambert, who marched in all haste from Newcastle, a Royalist movement, in which the name of the King was not uttered, spread rapidly throughout the county.[1]

The news of the precipitate insurrection of Fairfax, and of the restoration of the Long Parliament, reached Monk simultaneously at Coldstream. The latter piece of intelligence was not altogether unexpected by him; three days before, he had received a letter from Lenthall, which led him to anticipate it. Under other circumstances, he might have deemed it prudent to await the orders of that civil power, whose servant he had proclaimed himself to be, and which had now resumed its authority; but the necessity of advancing to support Fairfax, who was threatened in York by Lambert's army, admitted neither of doubt nor delay; and Monk lost no time in taking his measures for the purpose. He immediately issued orders to his troops to prepare to march. On the 1st of January, 1660, under a brilliant sun though the weather was very cold, his infantry passed the Tweed; the cavalry, commanded by Monk himself, crossed on the day after; and on the same evening, the entire Scottish army, general

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 637; Bell's Fairfax Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 152, 164–167; Price's Memoirs, p. 73; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 206.

and soldiers, made their first halt on English soil, at Wooler in Northumberland.[1]

There, in the middle of the night, Monk received letters from the restored Long Parliament, which would have confirmed him, had there been any need, in the resolution which he had already adopted and carried partially into execution. The Parliament thanked him briefly and coldly for his services, but made him no promises, and did not request him to come to London. He merely learned that the same messenger, on his way through Newcastle, had left orders for Lambert's troops to disperse, and return to their various quarters. No similar order had been sent to his own army. Monk had no difficulty in understanding that the Parliament had no confidence in him, but did not dare to offend him. He immediately assembled his officers, who left their beds in great ill-humour, and came through the snow-strewn streets, to hear a letter read, "which," says one of them, "was as cold as the night itself." On the following morning, the troops were paraded, and the letter was read at the head of each regiment; the soldiers exclaimed that they would "go up to London and see the Parliament sitting:" and Monk gave orders that they should continue their march without delay.[2]

As he advanced, he was met on all sides with favourable demonstrations. At Morpeth, the High Sheriff and

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 75, 76; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 187–192; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 179, 180; Baker's Chronicle, p. 738; Bordeaux to Mazarin, January 8, 1660. See APPENDIX.

[2] Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 196, 197; Price's Memoirs, p. 76; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 180; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 738, 739; Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 797.

leading gentry of Northumberland came to congratulate him. The magistrates of Newcastle sent to invite him to pay a speedy visit to their town. At the same time, he received letters from the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London, dated on the 29th December, 1659, —a tardy answer to the letter which he had written to them six weeks previously, but full of apologies for the delay, and expressing the warmest approbation of all that he was saying and doing in defence of the rights of the Parliament and of the liberties of the nation. On arriving at Newcastle, on the 15th January, 1660, he found that Lambert's army was already disbanded, and that its various corps were on their march for their respective cantonments. Lambert had retired precipitately to a little country-house; he had been abandoned by all, both officers and soldiers, who had eagerly made their submission to the Parliament, without any stipulations for the safety of their General. Desborough himself had written to the House to acknowledge his error, and to promise future fidelity. Certain that he would now meet with no resistance, Monk halted for three days at Newcastle, and wrote thence to the City of London, to thank the Corporation for their sympathy, and to express his satisfaction at finding that his conduct was so fully in accordance with their views: "And I promise you," he added, "for the army under my command, that they are resolved, by the assistance of God, to stand by and maintain the present Parliament, as it sate on the 11th of October, from which we received our commissions; and we do hope that you that have been so eminently instrumental in restoring it, will heartily concur with us

therein. We shall to the utmost of our power defend the freedom of successive Parliaments, and the spiritual and civil liberties of the people in these nations; and shall encourage, in our stations, godly and learned ministers; and shall continue faithful in this good cause, that the nations may be stablished in a free Commonwealth, and the army kept in due obedience to the civil authority."[1]

At the same time, Monk despatched his chaplain Gumble to London, with letters, under his hand, to the Speaker of the House, to the Council of State, and to the Commissioners appointed for the government of the army, and also with a copy of his letter to the City, which, in order to obviate all suspicion, he had determined to communicate to the Parliament. His past life and opinions, his intimacy with Scott, and his familiarity with all the intrigues and movements of the Revolution, rendered Gumble a fit person to inspire the Parliamentary leaders with confidence, and to ascertain, for the information of his patron, their precise position and plans. And as he was to pass through York on his way to the metropolis, Monk further entrusted him with a letter for Fairfax, and with verbal instructions for Dr. Bowles; for the two chaplains were the active confidants of their Generals.[2]

Five days afterwards, on the 11th of January, 1660, Monk himself arrived at York, and dined privately at Nun-Appleton with Fairfax, who was confined to his room by gout. On his return to the city one evening, Monk had a conversation with Dr. Bowles, of so ani-

[1] Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 181–183; Price's Memoirs, p. 65; Monk's Letters, pp. 45–49; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 692.

[2] Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 207–209; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 184.

mated a character that it continued until past midnight. When Bowles had taken his leave, Monk sent for his chaplain Price, and said to him: "What do you think? Mr. Bowles has pressed me very hard to stay here, and declare for the King, assuring me that I shall have great assistance." "And have you made any such promise?" inquired Price eagerly. "No truly," answered Monk, "I have not; or at least, I have not yet." Both now remained silent for some time, until at last Price remarked: "After the famous Gustavus was slain, I remember to have heard this passage in the story of his life, that when he entered Germany, he said, 'That if his shirt knew what he intended to do, he would tear it from his back and burn it.' Wherefore I entreat you to sleep between this and the walls of London; and when you come within them, then to open your eyes, and consider what you have to do." Monk had no need of Price's advice, to lead him to pursue a policy of silence and dissimulation; he was daily becoming more taciturn and impenetrable. On being informed that an officer had said, "This Monk will at last bring in Charles Stuart;" he struck him publicly with his cane, and threatened any one who should repeat the calumny with the same or a worse chastisement.[1]

These positive demonstrations, and this obstinate reserve, filled the Royalists with doubt and disquietude. In their letters to the King and to Hyde, they invariably spoke of Monk as an enigma which they utterly despaired of being able to resolve. Sometimes, they were full of

[1] Bell's Fairfax Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 168, 192; Price's Memoirs, pp. 79-81.

confidence and hope. "No man," wrote Barwick to the King, on the 5th of December, 1659, "can think Monk so foolish as to engage so deeply as he hath done, upon so rotten an interest as the Rump of a Parliament." This confidence occasionally bordered on enthusiasm. "His pretensions are dark," wrote Broderick to Hyde, on the 16th of December, "his discourses ambiguous, his complaints thus: 'I, of all Englishmen employed by the Commonwealth, shall prove most fortunate or unfortunate. Richard Cromwell forsook himself, else had I never failed my promise to his father, or regard to his memory. Fleetwood's folly, Lambert's treachery and ambition, are neither of them to be endured. The disunion of what they scornfully call the Rump, is not to be depended on. I therefore have adventured to stand alone in the gap. The Scots I dare not trust in any measure, were I not enforced by necessity. Counsellor I have none to rely on, many of my officers have been false, and that all the rest will prove true, is too much gaiety to hope. But religion, law, liberty, and my own fame are at stake; I will go on, and leave the event to God.'" A few weeks later, on the 13th of January, the same Broderick wrote: "Monk's designs are so unknown, it is vanity to guess at them. Two letters arrived from his quarters near York this morning to Charles Howard in cipher, from men of good judgment and unquestionable credit. I read them both, and find their conjectures of his designs and inclinations totally different; what then shall we say at this distance?" "I can say little more of him," wrote Mordaunt to the King, on the 16th of January, "but that he is a black Monk, and

I cannot see through him. Yet because the heart of man is deceitful, I have so far prevailed with the citizens and some heads of the secluded members, as to prepare to oppose this clouded soldier, in case he prove other than what they would have him." And, actuated by the general anxiety of his party, Rumbold, one of Hyde's most trusted correspondents, thus wrote to him, on the 16th of December: "His Majesty might do well to get a message sent from the King of France to Monk, the better to dispose him; and this is the opinion of many of the nobility."[1]

The Republicans, who had now become the masters, were as uncertain and even more ill at ease with regard to Monk than the Royalists themselves; for their uncertainty tended towards fear, and not towards hope. From the very outset, their attitude towards him was embarrassed, and characterized at once by distrust and timidity. When they voted thanks to him, on the 27th and 29th of December, they were careful to bestow the same expressions of gratitude on Admiral Lawson, Colonel Morley, and Sir Arthur Haslerig. Lawson, on coming to London, was introduced into the House on the 9th of January, and formally complimented by the Speaker. All that Monk had done in the Scottish army, in reference to the dismissal or promotion of his officers, was confirmed; but at the same time, an amnesty was granted to the officers of Lambert's army, and they were treated with favour. On the 30th of December, Monk and Fairfax were appointed members of the Council of State; but

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 621–623, 628, 645, 649, 652, 630; Bordeaux to Mazarin, January 12, 1659. See APPENDIX.

the composition of that body was such, that their influence in it could not excite the least apprehension. No desire had been expressed to Monk, and indeed the Parliament was far from feeling any desire, that he should come to London; but when it became known that he was continuing his march, an invitation was at once sent to him to proceed thither. His chaplain Gumble, as soon as he arrived in the metropolis, was summoned before the House,[1] and well treated by it: he was questioned with curiosity, and listened to with complaisance; a present of a hundred pounds sterling was voted to him, and the prospect of a good benefice was held out to him. But when he was sent before the Council of State, in order to enter into the confidential details of his mission, the Council kept him waiting until midnight without giving him audience; and on the next day, a few members only met, "rather to examine him," he says, "than to hear any proposals from him." They expressed to him their great apprehension that "General Monk was for the King;" and proposed that he should go with them to the house of General Fleetwood. Gumble replied that, as Fleetwood had been constantly hostile to the Scottish army of which he was the envoy, he could not accede to this proposition; but that, in presence of the whole Council of State, he would be ready to enter into full explanations. This opportunity however was not allowed him.[2]

An intelligent observer, and set on his guard by the

[1] On the 12th of January, 1660.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 797, 798, 806, 800–802, 800, 801, 804, 808, 820; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 209–221; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 342; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 693.

difficulties which he encountered, Gumble discharged his mission with firmness, dexterity, and moderation. Monk had instructed him to convey to the Parliament, in his name, certain counsels with regard to the choice of State functionaries both civil and military, to religious affairs, and to the administration of Scotland, which were good in themselves, and gave an air of sincerity as well as of authority to their sender. Gumble repeated the recommendations of his General to the House, without either exaggeration or diminution. With the principal lawyers in the Parliament, with several of the secluded members, and with the most important men in the City, he had private conversations, at which he ascertained their views, and discreetly intimated to them so much of his patron's intentions as he was willing to make known. Eager to inform him of what he had seen, he wrote to him by a sure hand: "Do not trust to those persons with whom you correspond; in the times of danger, to provide security for themselves, many have kept a secret correspondence with your enemies. The prevailing and governing influence in the Parliament is reduced into the hands of a few and inconsiderable persons,—either hare-brained and hot-headed fools, or obscure and disregarded knaves. Those who had been courted into Oliver's service, or who had joined with the Committee of Safety, are all looked upon with scorn, as apostates and revolters from the good old cause. Some of the Parliament are so peremptorily persuaded that you are inclined to the King, that they would willingly set Lambert at the head of their army again, to balance you. . . . The Rump purposes to forfeit the estates of all the nobility and

gentry who confederated together in Sir George Booth's engagement. I have seen a list of the best-estated men in England, whom they are resolved to undo. This is no small advantage to your proceedings; for thereby you are sure of great assistance. . . . Besides, these scraps of a Parliament are much divided among themselves. . . . But you must keep your forces near you, or else you are in great danger." After employing four days thus diligently in pursuing the object of his mission, Gumble quietly left London, and hastened to rejoin his patron.[1]

There was no exaggeration in the picture which he had drawn of the miserable dissensions and foolish influences to which the Parliament, though scarcely re-established, had lost no time in subjecting itself. No domination is more blind and intractable than that of men of little minds, who are bold, malevolent and sincere, and who have at once a cause to defend and injuries to avenge. Such were the men who, among the Republican party, had just been replaced in possession of power; they triumphed with heedless arrogance, and were eager to punish those of their old friends who had lately deserted them. Haslerig made his first appearance in the House in his riding dress, and looked "very jocund and high." Scott declared that Whitelocke ought to be hanged, with the Great Seal round his neck. Whitelocke in alarm went to the Speaker, to ask him whether he would advise him to show himself in the House. "I fear," he said, "that some seeing me there, might move against me, and get me sent to prison." "I do not think," answered Lenthall, "that any such thing will be moved,

[1] Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 215–219.

but they will take it as an owning of their authority, if you sit with them." Whitelocke went to the House, but he met with so unfavourable a reception, and there was so much said about the necessity of sending him to the Tower, that he left London, and retired to a friend's house in the country, giving his wife instructions to burn his papers, and to deliver up the Great Seal to the Speaker. Vane was summoned before the House, and interrogated as to what he had done since the expulsion of the Parliament; he replied, without equivocation, that he had sided with the army, believing that he would thereby best promote the interests of the Commonwealth; it was voted[1] that he should cease to be a member of the House, and retire to his residence at Raby, there to await the pleasure of the Parliament. Ludlow, who had returned to Ireland to resume his military command, was recalled,[2] and required to prepare his answer to a charge of high treason. Sydenham was expelled the House; Salloway was suspended,[3] and sent to the Tower. But four days afterwards, in consequence of his protestations of repentance, this latter vote was rescinded, and Salloway was permitted to retire into the country. Lambert and eight other General officers received orders[4] to leave London, and proceed to certain remote places which had been fixed upon for their residence. The whole conduct of the Parliament towards the vanquished section of the Republican party, was a ridiculous mixture of violent measures, vexatious annoyances, and indulgent retractations, dictated by the alternations of malice and favour, alarm and confidence, which, from day to day, and almost

[1] On the 9th of January, 1660.
[2] On the 19th of January, 1660.
[3] On the 17th of January, 1660.
[4] On the 14th of January, 1660.

from hour to hour, followed in quick succession in the ardent but weak minds of the victorious party, as they were swayed in turn by their passions or by their perplexities.[1]

They would willingly have vented their anger and dealt their blows on the Royalists; but the Royalists gave them no pretext for doing so. Those of ardent temperament, Mordaunt for instance, wrote to the King[2] that the moment for action had arrived, that his affairs were fast ripening, and would no longer admit of the ordinary procrastination of his councils; but at the same time they deplored the languor, the want of devotedness and energy, which characterized their party. "Some very brave friends of mine are of opinion," wrote Broderick to Hyde, on the 21st of December, 1659, "that the native courage of the kingdom is departed from the gentlemen to the common people. . . . Here a man of ten thousand pounds a year will not give ten pounds towards a messenger, yet from day to day with vehement impatience demands news, protests zeal, and calls Heaven to witness his loyal intentions. 'Why,' he says, 'are not three or four regiments bought off? Is not gold their god? Is not silver the good old cause? How easily might you, amongst your numerous kindred and acquaintance, raise what you please for the purpose.' Yet will each man excuse himself (from contributing) upon the ground of his present necessities." In the City of London, Royalist plots and movements were still

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 806, 815, 816, 813–814, 818, 812; Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 691–694; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 340; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 52; Bordeaux to Mazarin, January 15, 1660. See APPENDIX.

[2] On the 11th of December, 1659.

talked of; and the King sent thither special and urgent instructions.[1] The citizens promised to rise in arms if Monk would declare himself; and they collected fifteen thousand pounds among themselves, on condition that the money should be employed, within two days, for the purpose of securing adherents in the army. "But all their courage," wrote Broderick to Hyde, on the 13th of January, "amounts to no more than libels, ballads, and ropes hung at Ireton's and Tichbourne's doors, with other such little petulances. Such a Common Council hath not been these hundred years in all men's equal esteem, but alas! they move slow and timorously. The Mayor saith: 'Who would not admit Charles Stuart, could men be assured of indemnity?' the same saith St. John, and many others. Ask them, 'What indemnity?' they are amazed, nor can they readily answer." But notwithstanding these complaints on the part of its leaders, and although its own action counted almost for nothing, the hopes and chances of the Royalist party went on visibly increasing. Justly alarmed at its progress, Scott and Haslerig employed their police with the utmost activity and vigour to arrest it; but their action, also, was insignificant and futile; a few letters were intercepted; some remittances of money, intended for the King, were seized; but these measures were insufficient to stop the flood-tide which was raising the Royalists from their long depression, or to rally and revive the shattered and fainting Republican party.[2]

[1] On the 12th and 14th of January, 1660.

[2] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 627, 632, 642–644, 645, 646, 648, 649–652; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 694; Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 797.

The leaders however were desirous of making a display of power against their enemies, and of securing to themselves some guarantees of future stability. Not satisfied with having decreed, on the 2nd of January, that no one should sit in the Council of State, without solemnly swearing that he did "renounce the pretended title or titles of Charles Stuart, and the whole line of the late King James, and of every other person, as a single person, to the crown or government of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland;" they proposed, on the 3rd of January, that the same oath should be imposed on every actual and future member of the Parliament. To their great surprise, this bill met with very strong opposition, even among their own ranks; among others Colonel Hutchinson, the most honest of the regicides, for he was the one who took least care of his own personal position, strenuously objected to the proposition. "The oaths that were formerly imposed," he said, "have but multiplied the sins of the nation by perjuries. Sir Arthur Haslerig and others, in Oliver Cromwell's time, when they came into the House, swore on their entrance they would make no attempt to change the government. But, as soon as ever they were entered, they laboured to throw it down." Either from conscientiousness or prudence, Hutchinson's scruples found favour; on the first reading, the bill was carried only by a majority of twenty-four votes against fifteen; and after six weeks of discussion and delay, the question was settled by the adoption[1] of a simple oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth, without any mention of Charles Stuart, or any

[1] On the 14th and 16th of February, 1660.

engagement against him, his family, or his descendants. Even in the Council of State, several members, among others Oliver St. John and Colonels Morley and Fagg, abstained from taking their seats, rather than take the anti-monarchical oath which was required of them.[1]

Every incident which rendered the Republican leaders more conscious of their weakness, increased Monk's importance in their eyes; and the distrust with which they had at first regarded him was soon succeeded by the most assiduous attention. Rumour asserted that, in concert with Fairfax, he was establishing himself at York, with the intention of declaring openly for the King. Gumble had just been sent away under a full conviction of the ill-feeling of the House towards his patron; and it was therefore desirable to neutralize the unfavourable impression which his reports might produce. On the 16th of January, it was voted that a landed estate of the annual value of one thousand pounds should be settled on Monk and his heirs for ever. A letter was prepared in which the Parliament expressed to him its deep sense of the great services he had rendered his country, congratulated itself on learning that he was on his march to London, in accordance with its desire, and promised him a speedy supply of money for the payment of his troops.[2] Finally, it was resolved that two members, Scott and Robinson, should be sent to him with these marks of the gratitude of the House, and should accompany

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 801, 803, 804, 805, 806, 843, 844; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 739, 740; Hutchinson's Memoirs, pp. 393, 394; Bordeaux to Mazarin, January 26, 1660. See APPENDIX.

[2] On the 12th of January, 1660.

him during the remainder of his journey. All, whether friends or enemies of Monk, willingly agreed to this measure; his enemies, while thus loading him with honours, placed two inflexible spies about his person; his friends were glad to get rid of two violent fanatics, who, they felt, would be far less formidable in Monk's camp than in the Parliament.[1]

On the same day that these resolutions were voted, Monk left York, and resumed his march towards London; for he was too judicious not to be aware that, though at York he might recommence the civil war, it was in London alone that he could put an end to the existing anarchy. In order to prove satisfactorily that he had no intention to impose laws on the Parliament by means of armed force, and also with a view to secure his rear in case he should find it necessary to fall back again on the north, on his departure from York, he sent Major-General Morgan into Scotland with two regiments, left a third at York under the command of Colonel Fairfax, a nephew of General Fairfax, and kept with himself only four regiments of infantry and three of cavalry, in all five thousand eight hundred men. But they were troops on which he could rely, both officers and soldiers, and Monk could do with them what he pleased; since his entrance into England, he had prohibited all those meetings and discussions, all that interference of the army in his resolutions and proceedings, which he had tolerated in Scotland, when he found them necessary in

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 813, 808; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 693; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 191; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 224; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 53.

order to sound and influence the minds of his men: military discipline and obedience had now taken the place of all appearance of popular movement; and amid the acclamations of the friendly or curious crowd who thronged their line of march, amid the sound of the bells which rang out their welcome to every town, this little army advanced, orderly and silently, trusting in their leader, and following him without caring to inquire whither he was leading them.[1]

At Mansfield Monk was rejoined by Gumble, and at Nottingham by Clarges,[2] both of whom brought him accurate information with regard to the state of the metropolis, and the difficulties which awaited him there. Clarges, by means of his acquaintance with the officers, and particularly with Quartermaster-General Butler, had procured a complete list of the army which the Parliament had in London or its immediate neighbourhood, and of the cantonments in which it was quartered. It consisted of eight thousand infantry and two thousand horse, and consequently was very superior in number to the force under Monk's command; and among the thirteen colonels, eight of infantry and five of cavalry, who commanded the regiments, there were only three, Ashley Cooper, Morley, and Fagg, from whom Monk could hope for any support; all the others were his certain opponents, for they were devotedly attached to the revolutionary Commonwealth, no matter whether it had at its head Lambert or Haslerig, the General Council of Of-

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 740; Price's Memoirs, p. 82; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 190; Guizot's Étude Historique sur Monk, p. 104; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 202, 221.

[2] On the 18th and 19th of January, 1660.

ficers or the Parliament. "Except you can get all these horse and foot out of London," said Clarges to Monk, "and disperse them into several quarters, you can never expect to do any good for your country. Your best way will be to write a letter to the Parliament to this purpose —that you conceive it not for their service that those soldiers now in London, lately in rebellion against them, should mingle with your approved faithful regiments, till their officers have by discipline reduced them to a more assured obedience." Monk adopted this suggestion. He had some doubt whether his troops alone would be sufficient for the maintenance of order in London, and for doing full duty as its garrison; but a detailed investigation of the requirements of this service set his mind at ease on this point. It was decided, in his little council, that a letter should be prepared, requesting the Parliament to send away the troops then quartered in London; but at the same time it was determined that this letter should not be sent until they were near the capital, and that, in the meanwhile, the strictest silence should be kept on the subject.[1]

Clarges and Gumble also conferred with Monk on another difficulty, which, in his eyes, was of far less importance. He had been appointed a member of the Council of State, and that Council was divided; some of its members had taken, and some had refused to take, the oath abjuring the Stuarts and monarchy. Monk would assuredly be called upon to take this oath; in that case, what did he intend to do? On which side would he range himself? Would he run the risk of offending his

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 740, 741.

friends by taking the oath, or would he prefer to redouble the distrust of his enemies by refusing it? And in the meanwhile, what answer would he give to Scott and Robinson, who would soon be with him, and would not fail to speak to him about it? "I have a plain and fair answer to make to them," said Monk; "that I hear many men of undoubted integrity have refused the oath, and till I come to London to hear the reasons on both sides, I cannot with prudence resolve upon it."[1]

Two days after this conversation, as he drew near to Leicester, Monk saw Scott and Robinson coming to meet him; they had arrived in the town on the previous evening, and took this opportunity of showing their respect to him. He immediately dismounted from his horse, was profuse in his expressions of thanks, ordered his troops to fire several volleys in their honour, got into their carriage, made his entrance into the town in their company, and supped with them that evening in their lodging, thus parading before the eyes of all his respect for them and for the Parliament of which they were the delegates. On the same day, and doubtless at their instigation, he did another act of far graver importance. Some Devonshire gentlemen, among whom were several of his relations and friends, had recently addressed to the Parliament a petition demanding the re-admission of the members who had been excluded in 1648. Monk wrote seriously to remonstrate with them on this proceeding. "Before these unhappy wars," he said, "the government of these nations was monarchical, both in Church and State. These wars have given birth and growth to

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 742.

several interests, both in Church and State, heretofore not known, though now upon many accounts very considerable; as the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Sectaries of all sorts, as to ecclesiastics, and the purchasers of the King's, Queen's, Princes', Bishops'; Deans' and Chapters', and all other forfeited estates, and all those engaged in these wars against the King, as to civils. . . . It may, as I think, be taken for granted, that no government can be either good, peaceable, or lasting to these nations, that doth not rationally include and comprehend the security and preservation of all the aforesaid interests, both civil and spiritual: I mean so far as, by the word of God, they are warranted to be protected and preserved. If this be so, then that government, under which we formerly were, both in Church and State, namely, Monarchy, cannot possibly be admitted for the future in these nations, because its support is taken away, and because it is exclusive of all the former interests, both civil and spiritual; all of them being incompatible with monarchical uniformity. That government, then, that is most able to comprehend and protect all interests as aforesaid, must needs be Republic.

"Wherefore, to me it is no small doubt, if to admit of the members secluded in 1648, were not to obstruct our peace and continue our war, rather than establish the one and end the other; in that very many of those members assert the monarchical interest, together with the abolition of all laws made since their seclusion; . . . the dangerous consequences whereof I do infinitely dread, and submit to your prudent considerations; and the rather, seeing the army also will never endure it.

"Let me now entreat you to consider, whether it were not better to desist from your petition, and submit to the proceedings of this Parliament, who have resolved to fill up their House, determine their sitting, and prepare a way for future successions of Parliament. . . . By which means they may, through God's mercy and all our patiences, establish such a government in the way of a Commonwealth as may be comprehensive of all interests, both civil and spiritual. . . . But if, by your impatiences, they be obstructed, our peace will be so much the longer a stranger to us, and we thereby a prey to ourselves and all foreign enemies."[1]

When this letter was written, Scott and Robinson believed themselves conquerors; if Monk was duping them, he was dishonoured; if he was sincere, the Commonwealth was saved. They sent the Parliament a copy of his letter in all haste, and at the same time were loud in their praises of his conduct towards them, of his modest demeanour, of the discipline of his army, and of the respect which he manifested on every occasion for the civil power. The satisfaction of the Parliament equalled that of its envoys, and it lost no time in giving Monk substantial proofs of its favour. A bill was passed, on the 26th of January, formally approving and legalizing all that he had done of late; the office of Custos Rotulorum of the County of Devon was conferred upon him; and the commission of Commander-in-chief, which, in the month of November, and before the restoration of

[1] Monk's Letters, pp. 50–52; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 68–70; Baker's Chronicle, p. 740; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 193, 194.

the Parliament to power, a few members of the Council of State had secretly sent to him in Scotland, was confirmed. It was also resolved that the first fellowship which should fall vacant in Eton College should be bestowed on his chaplain Gumble. Gumble was probably the author of the letter which had caused the Parliament such great delight, and had won Monk so many favours.[1]

But Monk was soon called upon to give explanations otherwise than by letters and from a distance: as he advanced through the country, he was daily pressed more earnestly and closely. In all the counties, and in all the towns through which he passed, the population flocked to meet him; the country gentlemen, and the notable citizens requested interviews with him, that they might present to him addresses expressive of their grievances and desires. And, generally speaking, it was not by old Cavaliers and compromised Royalists that these addresses were signed, but by men who had taken no part in the civil war, or by Presbyterians and old Opposition leaders who had long been supporters of the Parliament. They made no mention either of the King, or of the monarchy; they remained satisfied with demanding, either the readmission into the Parliament of those members who had been excluded in 1648, or the election of a new and free Parliament, according to the laws of the country. These demands, at once so urgent and so moderate, did not, on any one occasion, lead Monk to alter the attitude which he had from the first assumed; he received his visitors graciously, but without entering into conversation with

[1] Commons' Journal, vol. xii. p. 823; Bordeaux to Mazarin, February 2, 1660. See APPENDIX.

them, and replying to them only with a few brief and vague words, or by a friendly movement of the head, or by this favourite maxim: "I am but a servant to the Parliament in a military capacity, and these things, of great and civil concernment, must be left to the judgment of the Parliament;" but he allowed Scott and Robinson, who were always present at these interviews, to answer and discuss as lengthily as they pleased. At Harborough,[1] a deputation from the City of London waited on him; as they insisted strongly on the necessity of having a free Parliament, Scott, without giving Monk time to make any observation, said abruptly: "Now the Parliament has subjected the military power to a due subordination to the civil, we are free; and, having already given our judgment in the case of the secluded members, it does not become you to insist on their re-admission." But Alderman Fowke was not thus to be intimidated. "I conceive," he answered, "that we are not obliged by our instructions to desire the General's mediation further than that we may have all our own members admitted, for it is unreasonable that we should be governed by a Parliament in which we are not represented." At Northampton,[2] the gentlemen of the county, somewhat dismayed by the cold reception which Monk gave them, were doubtful whether they should present the address which they had brought; but some of the General's confidants advised them, "to go on with their address, and to be content with such answer as they re-

[1] On the 25th of January, 1660, according to Baker; on the 23rd, according to Skinner.

[2] On the 24th of January, 1660, according to Skinner.

ceived, in expectation of the future effect." At St. Albans,[1] a violent scene occurred; Sir Richard Temple, the bearer of the Hertfordshire address, spoke so harshly of the Parliament then sitting, and of the necessity of electing another in its stead, that Scott exclaimed: "My age might excuse me from taking up arms; yet, old as I am, before this present Parliament shall be entangled by restoring the secluded members or by new elections, I will gird on my sword again, and keep the door against them." Amid these outbursts of haughtiness and anger on the part of the commissioners, Monk remained calm and immovable; it suited his plans that the public ill-humour should fall upon them alone, and that their presence should clearly appear to be the cause of his taciturnity.[2]

But when distrust and duplicity are in conflict, neither can gain complete success, and the truth will gleam out from amidst even the most carefully-maintained darkness. Whilst Monk remained silent, his chaplains and confidential officers took pains to reassure those visitors who had been discouraged by his silence and coldness. Many interviews and conversations took place, at which Scott and Robinson were not present. Even agents who had been sent from Brussels or Breda obtained access to Monk, and discharged their commissions; Sir Stephen Fox, the private treasurer of Charles II., landed in England, joined the General on his march, saw him in

[1] On the 28th of January, 1660.

[2] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 742, 743; Price's Memoirs, pp. 83–85; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 195–198; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 222–226; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 694; Schomberg to his Secretary, February 5, 1660. See APPENDIX.

private, delivered to him a letter from the King, and returned to his master, without an answer indeed, but without hindrance. Scott and Robinson exhausted all the artifices that passion could suggest, in watching Monk and his confidants; they lodged everywhere in the same house with him, took their meals with him, and sometimes even, it is said, caused secret openings to be made in the partition walls which separated their rooms from his own, that they might see all that went on in his apartments. They discovered nothing, but yet were not reassured; though satisfied with Monk, and eager to proclaim their satisfaction, they still remained acutely anxious; and they were right.[1]

On arriving at St. Albans, not many miles from London, Monk was of opinion that the time had come for beginning to act with authority; and without saying anything to Scott and Robinson, he sent to the Parliament, on the 28th of January, the following letter, which had been in readiness for some days: "I am now marched in obedience to your commands thus far on my way towards London, with four regiments of foot and two regiments of horse; each regiment of foot containing a thousand men, and each regiment of horse six hundred. So that by a list which I have sent to me from the Quartermaster-General of the horse and foot in London, I have disposed of these regiments which march with me; and I humbly offer that all those now in London, except Colonel Fagg's regiment, and Colonel Morley's, may be sent to the several quarters by me assigned; for, with submis-

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 86; Guizot's Monk, p. 112; Baker's Chronicle, p. 742; Memoirs of the Life of Sir Stephen Fox, p. 30.

sion, I conceive it not for your service that those soldiers now in London, lately in rebellion against you, should mingle with your approved faithful regiments. . . . The three regiments of horse with me are as many in number as those now in London; and my four regiments of foot are near as full as the six I remove, so that your numbers are not lessened. In this letter I send two lists: in one of them the quarters are set down for these regiments which march with me into London, and in the other the several quarters of those to march out; which I did not appoint but upon much consideration of the present posture of your affairs, and intelligence of the distempered condition of the places to which I assign them. . . . I humbly desire your pleasure may be so early communicated to us, that I may send the Quartermasters to make provision for the men."[1]

The surprise and consternation produced by this letter in London were very great; no one had expected any such demand, or to be addressed in a tone so unbending in its humility. An animated debate took place in the Parliament, on the 30th of January; several members, among others Haslerig, who was Colonel of one of the regiments which Monk wished to have removed, were in favour of resisting his demand. "The Council of State," they said, "has before agreed that four of the regiments now in London should march out, and four of Monk's be admitted." But either from blindness, or connivance, or weakness, the party in favour of concession gained their point; all Monk's propositions were agreed to; it was

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 741; Price's Memoirs, p. 85; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 198; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 227; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 694.

voted that the regiments should be quartered according to the arrangement of the two lists contained in his letter, and that, from the day of Monk's arrival in the capital, ten pounds a day should be allowed "towards the maintaining of a table for the commissioners of the army," of whom Monk was chief.[1]

Haslerig himself was, or at all events wished to appear, resigned to the concessions which he had recently opposed, for on the day after the House had come to a vote on the subject, Ludlow happened to pay him a visit, and Haslerig said to him: "My enemies thought to ensnare me, by Monk's motion to the Parliament for removing my regiment from London, thinking thereby to create a difference between Monk and myself; but I have disappointed them, by desiring its removal myself, for I assure you Monk is a person on whose fidelity we may safely rely." "If I may be permitted," adds Ludlow, "to deliver my sense touching this discourse of Sir Arthur Haslerig, I conjecture it proceeded, partly from an apprehension that things were already gone so far, that he doubted whether he could put any stop to them, and partly from some sparks of hope that Monk could not be such a devil as to betray a trust so freely reposed in him."[2]

Whilst these deliberations were going on in London with regard to his demands, Monk halted for five days at St. Albans, where he assembled his troops, took measures for their entrance into the metropolis, listened to an en-

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 826; Baker's Chronicle, p. 743.

[2] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 345; Bordeaux to Mazarin, February 7, 1660. See APPENDIX.

thusiastic sermon from Hugh Peters, and received numerous visits. His chaplain Gumble and Colonel Knight told him one day that an important personage, whose name has remained unknown, wished to see him, on behalf of the old peers and of the members who had been excluded from the House of Commons in 1648. Monk received him with some alacrity, and remained in conference with him for three hours. After some preliminary conversation, his visitor said to him: "As a friend, I believe your march hither is to restore the secluded members." Monk replied, as usual, that he had no wish to disturb the civil power. "There is no legal power at present," returned the other; "the minority have excluded the majority; and even the present usurped power is divided into the moderate and violent parties. The first are for a full and free Parliament, which alone can bind up the gaping wounds of the nation, and settle peace and religion." "I also am for a full Parliament," said Monk, "and not against a free one." "How can that consist," answered his visitor, "if engagements and oaths must be previously taken? General Monk, as your friend, I must clearly tell you, none of your dark dubious letters ever gave your real friends so much grief as one action you did before you came out of Scotland." "And what was that?" demanded Monk angrily. "Your abjuring the King and his family," replied the other, "and offering the abjuration to the officers of your army: for this all your friends condemn you." "'Tis false!" exclaimed Monk; "I never did it, nor ever would. God forbid I should fight against Providence, or any one particular family. But, Sir, I wonder to hear this aspersion

from a sober man; pray, who told it you?" "Sir Arthur Haslerig, in the House," said his visitor, "as an argument to induce a concurrence in the House as to the abjuration, said, 'Gentlemen, Monk and the whole army in Scotland have taken it; I have here a letter in my pocket to show it.'" Monk, greatly incensed, repeated that the statement was a lie, giving his visitor to understand that his actions should prove its falsity, and that Haslerig himself should soon be compelled to retract it.[1]

On the 2nd of February, 1660, he removed his headquarters to Barnet, about twelve miles from London. He was preparing for his entrance into the capital on the following day, when, towards midnight, Scott entered his room in his nightgown and slippers; he had come, in great alarm, to entreat the General to set his troops in motion at once; an insurrection, he said, had broken out in London; the regiments which had received orders to march out had mutinied and refused to obey; bands of apprentices were parading through the streets of the City, shouting, "A free Parliament!" The Parliament, set at defiance by the soldiers and insulted by the populace, stood in most urgent need of Monk and his support. Monk listened calmly to Scott's speech, and said: "I am so near the City that no great mischief can be done in one night. I will undertake for this night's disturbance, and be early enough in the morning to prevent any further mischief." He advised Scott to return to his bed, sent two officers at once to London to obtain exact information as to what was going on, and made arrangements

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 667; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 124–126; Price's Memoirs, p. 88.

to be ready, in case of emergency, to act with promptitude on the next day.[1]

Great agitation had, in fact, prevailed in London during the last two days; the regiments that were to march out murmured loudly at their removal; a month's pay, which the Parliament had voted for them, failed to satisfy them; they asked why they should be obliged to give place to these new-comers from Scotland—they who lately, of their own free will, had brought back the Parliament to Westminster Hall. Political agitators were not wanting to stimulate this military sedition; Vane and Lambert, who had secretly returned to London, and were ardent in their efforts to prevent Monk from obtaining the mastery, fomented and directed the movement. It is even said that Haslerig and Neville, influenced by opposite fears, privately encouraged the resistance of the soldiers, at the same time that they summoned Monk to repress it. For a moment, the disturbance wore a threatening character; several regiments had repulsed their officers, and declared that they would not march out; drums were beating in the City; the apprentices were running to the barracks, and inviting the soldiers to join with them. But the Parliament was irretrievably compromised; on the very day before, it had bound itself more closely to Monk by appointing him keeper of St. James's Park, and conferring on his brother-in-law Clarges the office of Commissary-General of the Musters. The insurrection menaced its existence while braving its authority. At the same time that it urged Monk to come

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 88, 89; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 199–202; Bordeaux to Mazarin, February 16, 1660. See APPENDIX.

to London at once, it took measures for repressing the disturbance and securing its ringleaders; an additional grant of pay mollified the ill-humour of the troops; a few squadrons of cavalry, sent into the City, dispersed the apprentices. Orders were given to the Usher of the Black Rod to arrest Vane, detain him in his custody, and remove him within three days to his country-seat at Raby. On the morning of the 3rd of February, all was calm in London, and the regiments of the English army marched off to the quarters which Monk had assigned to them in the neighbouring counties.[1]

On the same day, in the afternoon, Monk entered London, at the head of his cavalry, and attended by the Commissioners of the Parliament, and a large number of influential men who had joined his staff. The infantry followed, in regular marching order; a veteran army, simple, firm, and martial in their appearance, though somewhat fatigued by their journey. The people watched them pass without enthusiasm or acclamations; for they had been accustomed for some time to distrust the soldiery, and did not know what to expect from their present visitors. Monk's men were astonished at the coolness of their reception, and interchanged among themselves expressions of contempt for the streets of London, and of regret for their friends in the Scottish mountains. On arriving in Chancery-lane, Monk halted with his whole cavalcade, in front of the house of the Speaker, to whom he wished to do honour, as the representative of

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 828; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 694; Baker's Chronicle, p. 743; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 666; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 200-202; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 346.

the sovereign power; but Lenthall had not yet returned from Westminster, and the troops resumed their march. In the Strand, near Somerset House, they met Lenthall, on his way home. Monk dismounted from his horse, and advancing towards the Speaker's coach, addressed him in terms of ceremonious compliment. Lenthall immediately alighted from his carriage, and replied in equally flattering language. They embraced; Lenthall went on his way to Chancery-lane; Monk replaced himself at the head of his troops, and marched to Whitehall, where, by order of the Parliament, the apartments of the Prince of Wales had been prepared to receive him.[1]

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 89–91; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 202; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 227, 228; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 694; Baker's Chronicle, p. 743.

BOOK IV.

ATTITUDE ASSUMED BY MONK IN LONDON.—THE CITY PRONOUNCES IN FAVOUR OF A FULL AND FREE PARLIAMENT.—THE PARLIAMENT ORDERS MONK TO BRING THE CITY INTO SUBMISSION.—MONK OBEYS.—HIS RECONCILIATION WITH THE CITY.—POPULAR OUTBREAK IN THE CITY AGAINST THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—MONK PROCURES THE ADMISSION INTO THE PARLIAMENT OF THOSE MEMBERS WHO HAD BEEN EXCLUDED SINCE 1648.—MONARCHICAL TENDENCIES PREVAIL IN THE PARLIAMENT.—UNCERTAINTY OF THE ROYALISTS WITH REGARD TO MONK'S INTENTIONS.—THE REPUBLICANS PROPOSE TO HIM TO ASSUME THE SUPREME POWER.—HE REFUSES.—MILTON'S PAMPHLETS.—DISSOLUTION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—MONK SENDS GREENVILLE TO CHARLES II.—EFFORTS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS TO TREAT WITH THE KING.—OFFERS OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO MONK.—CHARLES II. REMOVES TO BREDA.—ESCAPE, INSURRECTION, AND DEFEAT OF LAMBERT.—ELECTION AND MEETING OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT.—ITS CIVILITIES TO MONK.—LETTERS OF CHARLES II. TO THE TWO HOUSES AND TO THE CITY.—DECLARATION FROM BREDA.—THE HOUSES PROCLAIM CHARLES II., AND SEND COMMISSIONERS TO HIM.—OUTBREAK OF THE ROYALIST REACTION.—DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT, AMONG OTHER TOPICS, ON THE ACT OF INDEMNITY.—CHARLES II. RECEIVES THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE PARLIAMENT.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURTS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN, AND OF THE STATES-GENERAL OF HOLLAND, TOWARDS CHARLES II.—CHARLES II. AT THE HAGUE.—HE TAKES LEAVE OF THE STATES-GENERAL.—HIS EMBARKATION AT SCHEVELING AND ARRIVAL AT DOVER, WHERE HE IS MET BY MONK.—HIS ENTRY INTO LONDON.—HE RECEIVES THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AT WHITEHALL.—STATE OF THE PUBLIC MIND.—FUTURE PROSPECTS.

THOSE men who, while pursuing opposite designs, nevertheless have need of one another, may, when they are separated from each other and are not as yet very deeply

engaged in the conflict, long succeed in mutually deceiving one another with regard to their secret intentions; but when they draw near the goal, when they find themselves face to face, compelled at every moment to speak and to act, deception and dupery become difficult; and in order to prolong the cheat, a rare degree of imperturbable audacity is required in the one party, and of passionate blindness in the other.

Monk and the Republican party were now entering upon this final crisis; and they did so with very unequal strength. The Republic still had soldiers; but, in its dissensions, it had lost all its most able and renowned leaders one after another. It could no longer bow its head, and shelter itself beneath the name of Cromwell; that refuge it had rejected. Vane and Lambert were proscribed; Thurloe had been set aside; Ludlow was treated with distrust and ill-humour. To sustain the Republican cause, there now remained only the impetuosity of Haslerig, the obstinacy of Scott, the mystical enthusiasm of Overton, the speculative debates of Harrington's club, the eloquent but melancholy pamphlets of Milton, and the unintelligent ardour of a small band of obscure fanatics, as ready to quarrel with one another, as to sacrifice themselves for their faith. Monk was alone, without a party, unfettered by pledges, illusions, or scruples, at the head of a restless but obedient army; making it his constant endeavour to appear, and in reality to remain, free as to his actions, even after his resolution was taken; persisting as long as he could in silence, and when he was compelled to speak, substituting falsehood for silence with the utmost effrontery; always patient,

whether he was uncertain in his own mind or not; and fully resolved to wait as long as was necessary, so that he might achieve success without recommencing the civil war, and might relieve himself from responsibility by doing whatever he did in the name of the civil power, that is to say, of the Parliament.

On the 4th of February, 1660, the day after his entrance into London, he went down to the Council of State. The suspicious Republicans were awaiting him, in order to try him; the President requested him to take the oath of abjuration against monarchy and the Stuart family. Monk's resolution had long been fixed on this point, and his answer was ready. "I must crave leave to demur," he said: "for I know not how this oath will relish with my army, who are very tender on that point; for many of them are of opinion that it is not lawful to swear against the providence of God. Moreover, seven besides myself, who were nominated to be of the Council of State, have not yet abjured; and before deciding, I desire to have some satisfaction by a mutual conference between the dissenters, that I may proceed with the greater peace and content. In the meanwhile, that you may see that you have no reason to suspect me or my army, I desire that you will make trial of our fidelity and obedience to you. If you find that I either disobey or dispute your orders, I am in your power; for I brought not an army with me to make you jealous of me, having sent back a great part of it into Scotland, as soon as I understood that you were established in your power." The members of the Council looked at one another; a discussion ensued; attempts were made to remove his ob-

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jections; but Monk persisted in his refusal; and notwithstanding their increased distrust, they were obliged to grant him the delay, and to promise him the conference, which he demanded.[1]

On the same day, in the evening, Admiral Lawson and Ludlow went together to pay him a visit. Ludlow congratulated him on having lent his support to the Parliament against the power of the sword, and expressed the hope that, by his honest assistance, a lawful government might at length be established. "I hope so too," replied Monk; "we must live and die for and with a Commonwealth." "On my way to London," returned Ludlow, "I met with one Mr. Courtney, who said he was your relation, and, having drunk too much at the inn where I lay, boasted that his cousin Monk would do great things for the King; but upon my objecting your public declarations and protestations to the contrary, he began to doubt, and said, 'That his cousin being a man of honour, he feared he would be as good as his word.'" "Yea," answered Monk, "if there were nothing in it but that, I must make good my word, and will too." The two Republicans took their leave, equally surprised and satisfied. "The Levite and the priest have passed by, and would not help us," said Lawson to Ludlow; "but I hope we have found a Samaritan that will do so."[2]

Visitors flocked to Whitehall; all, whether from curiosity or in the hope of enhancing their own importance, wished to see Monk, to give him such information or ad-

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 91, 92; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 228; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 205; Baker's Chronicle, p. 743.

[2] Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 346, 347; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 670, 672.

vice as they had to offer, and to be able to speak of him and, as it were, in his name. Scott came to give him notice that, on the following day, the House would receive him, "to give him publicly their acknowledgments of his service," and that they expected he would make positive profession of his affection to their interest and authority, and of his dislike of the addresses to him regarding the secluded members. Scott had no sooner taken his departure than a citizen, named Sturdy, was brought to Monk by an old Cavalier; he came to inform him that a son of Scott, who lodged in his house, had stated that, in a few days, not only would Monk be deprived of the command of the army, but he would be sent to the Tower and brought to trial, for they could prove enough against him to make his head fall off his broad shoulders. Monk received every one, listened to every report, promised Scott that he would make such a speech as should satisfy the Parliament, gave Sturdy a place among his guards, and held himself in readiness for any emergency, without doing anything to bring matters prematurely to a crisis.[1]

As he had announced, on Monday, the 6th of February, Scott, accompanied by several other members, came to fetch Monk from Whitehall, and conducted him to the Parliament. As he passed through Westminster Hall, he bowed low to the Judges whom he met on his way. On entering the House, the Serjeant-at-arms, who preceded him with the mace, pointed out to him an arm-

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 90, 91; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 228; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 205–208; Baker's Chronicle, p. 743; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 694; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 347.

chair, which had been placed for him within the bar. The Speaker requested him to be seated; Monk declined, and remained standing behind the chair. The Speaker then addressed to him, in pious and pompous language, the thanks of the House. "The face of this land," he said, "was covered with a gloomy and black cloud, and the whole nation was left, in the judgment of man, to the uttermost ruin: but in that condition, we did, as the prophet, espy a little cloud, no broader than a hand, which is infinitely, in an instant, become the refreshment of the whole nation." Monk bowed modestly, and, still standing, made the following reply: "Mr. Speaker, amongst the many mercies of God to these poor nations, your peaceable restitution is not the least. It is His work alone, and to Him belongs the glory of it. I esteem it as a great effect of His goodness to me, that He was pleased to make me, amongst many worthier in your service, someway instrumental in it. I did nothing but my duty, and deserve not to receive so great an honour and respect as you are pleased to give me at this time and place. . . . . I shall not now trouble you with large narratives; only give me leave to acquaint you that, as I marched from Scotland hither, I observed the people in most counties in great and earnest expectations of a settlement, and several applications were made to me with numerous subscriptions to them. The chiefest heads of their desires were for a free and full Parliament, and that you would determine your sitting; a gospel ministry, encouragement of learning and Universities; and the admittance of the members secluded before the year 1648, without any previous oath or engagement. To which I

commonly answered that you are now in a free Parliament, and if there be any force remaining upon you, I would endeavour to remove it and that you had voted to fill up your House, and then you would be a full Parliament also; and that you had already determined your sitting: and for the maintenance of the ministry, the laws and Universities, you had largely declared concerning them in your last declaration, and I was confident you would adhere to it. But as for those gentlemen secluded in the year 1648, I told them you had given judgment in it, and all people ought to acquiesce in that judgment; and that, to admit any members to sit in Parliament, without a previous oath or engagement to preserve the government in being, was never done in England.

"But, although I said it not to them, I must say (with pardon) to you, that the less oaths and engagements are imposed (with respect had to the security of the common cause), the sooner will your settlement be attained. . . . I know all the sober gentry will close with you, if they may be tenderly and gently used; and I am sure you will so use them, knowing it to be the common concern to amplify and not to lessen our interest, and to be careful that neither the Cavalier nor Fanatic party have a share in your civil or military power; of the last of whose impatience of government, you have lately had so severe experience."[1]

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 835; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 88; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 695; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 229; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 206; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 744–746; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 347; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 401–403; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 672; Pepys' Diary, vol. i. p. 22.

The Republicans were greatly displeased with this speech; they thought it marked by too great an assumption of authority, and by too evident a desire to court popularity. Monk, on his side, notwithstanding the honours paid to him, was offended at being invariably addressed, not as General, but as Commissioner, as one of the seven members to whom the government of the army had been delegated. The rivals had been in presence of each other for only three days; and yet they already found it difficult to dissemble their hostility beneath the mask of silence and falsehood.

The Royalist leaders, meanwhile, were far from believing themselves to be making such rapid progress; Monk studiously avoided any explanation, and almost any communication with them; none of the King's private friends could gain access to him; and they wrote to Brussels to complain of the difficulties they encountered, and to request Charles to furnish them with some means of approach to the General, with whom it was all-important that they should be able to act in concert. Charles replied by exhorting them to use discretion and patience, as he was unwilling to confess to them that he had himself no relations with Monk. His more zealous adherents declared that nothing was to be expected from the General. "Monk hath already pulled off his mask," wrote Mordaunt to the King, on the 5th of February; "he is clearly Republican, and certainly hath acted the weakest part that ever man did; he hath lost all parties; and now runs with the giddy members into illegal and irregular actions." "The secluded party," wrote Rumbold to Hyde, on the 7th of February, "are very much offended at him for not countenancing their interest."

But in spite of these individual disappointments and doubts, the Royalist party throughout the country felt its fortunes improving, and rested its hopes more and more strongly on Monk; it was to him, and not to the House, that those addresses were brought, from a multitude of counties and towns, which demanded a full and free Parliament; it was to him that all looked for the signal for action; and while waiting for him to give it, the Cavaliers returned in considerable numbers from the Continent, "talking very high," says Whitelocke, "and declaring that the King would be in England very shortly."[1]

The Republicans were greatly moved by these symptoms of the approaching crisis; the House ordered the arrest of a number of Royalists; new and vigorous measures were adopted for the sequestration of their property;[2] during the debate on the bill for regulating elections to future Parliaments, a clause was inserted declaring all persons who, since the 1st of February, 1649, had in any way assisted or abetted any plot or design in favour of Charles Stuart or his family, incapable of being elected or of giving any vote in the election of members.[3] The Royalists were treated as if the civil war were still at its height. And at the same time, instead of endeavouring to rally together, on the ground of their common danger, all the partisans of the Republic, those whom the dominant faction regarded as personal enemies were pursued with relentless animosity. Notwithstanding his illness, Vane had great difficulty in obtaining

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 670, 672, 679; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 695.

[2] On the 7th of February, 1660.

[3] On the 8th and 11th of February, 1660.

a week's respite of the order for his banishment from London;[1] and Lambert, who had been traced to his hiding-place, was summoned to appear before the Council of State, required to give security that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the Commonwealth, and ordered to retire immediately to his residence at Holmby.[2] A warrant for £2999 which Thurloe had received for secret service expenses was cancelled, and the Council of State was directed to institute a strict inquiry into the matter.[3] Such were the last futile gratifications with which the ruling clique, reduced to extremity, indulged its fears and hatreds.[4]

It suddenly found itself in presence of a far more formidable enemy than those whom it was able so easily to proscribe. The City of London, that stronghold of the Presbyterian and Reforming party, from whence the Long Parliament, in its best days, had derived its chief support against Charles I., now boldly unfurled the banner of resistance against the decrepit and mutilated Long Parliament. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council voted that they would pay no more taxes, unless they were imposed on the City by a full and free Parliament. This vote imported the moral and material ruin of the power which still sate at Westminster.[5]

The chief supporters of the Rump Parliament, both

[1] On the 6th of February. 1660.

[2] On the 8th of February, 1660.

[3] On the 2nd of February, 1660.

[4] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 836, 840, 835, 837, 831–833; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 807; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 347.

[5] Baker's Chronicle, p. 746; Price's Memoirs, p. 95; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 234; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 348; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 210; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 404, 405.

civilians and officers, met immediately at Westminster,[1] in the hall of the Council of State; and after they had conferred for some time amongst themselves, Monk was requested to join them. Haslerig went in person to fetch him. Some hesitated about reposing so much confidence in him; but Scott and Haslerig pledged themselves for his docility. He was informed that it had been resolved, in order to repress the insolence of the citizens, to march the army into the City, with directions to remove the posts and chains from the streets, to break down the portcullises and gates, and to arrest eleven of the ringleaders in the rebellion. The execution of these orders was entrusted to him. If we may believe Ludlow, Monk said, "that if they did no more than this, it would serve for nothing, for the disaffection of the City was so great, that they would never be quiet until some of them were hanged; that it was absolutely necessary, for the present, to break in pieces their gates and portcullises, to burn their posts, and to carry away their chains to the Tower; and that he would willingly undertake to see their orders put in execution." But this assertion is refuted by the known character of Monk, (who was by no means inclined to compromise himself beyond the limits of strict necessity,) by his language and conduct in the sequel of this affair, and by the length of the sitting of the Council at which the matter was discussed. At two o'clock in the morning it was not over. If Monk had shown the alacrity which Ludlow attributes to him, there would have been no need of such a laborious conference with him. The fear that he would refuse to undertake

[1] On the 8th of February, 1660.

this service was so great, that, when he made his appearance in the Council, the leaders, in order that he might be subject to no other influence than their own, ordered all the doors to be shut, and guards to be posted on the outside, with strict injunctions to admit no one. Surprised at this stringent prohibition, an officer, happening to meet Ashley Cooper and Weaver in the street, informed them of it; they were both of them members of the Council of State, but had not been summoned to attend on the present occasion. Surprised in their turn, and curious to ascertain what was going on, they made their way, by favour of their title, to the very door of the hall, and endeavoured, but without success, to gain admittance. They then proceeded to the residence of Mrs. Monk, whom they found in considerable anxiety at her husband's absence from home. Was he detained by force? Was any evil design in progress against him? Was there not some scheme for sending him to the Tower? Mrs. Monk went herself to the door of the Council-chamber, and exclaimed from the outside, that she had something important to communicate to her husband; but her cries succeeded neither in getting the door opened, nor in obtaining any answer; and she returned home with her two visitors, who remained with her until the General made his appearance.[1]

Monk came home at about three o'clock in the morn-

[1] Price's Memoirs p. 96; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 235; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 221; Baker's Chronicle, p. 746; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 348; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 695; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 404–406; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 674; Wingrove Cooke's Life of the First Earl of Shaftesbury, vol. i. pp. 223, 224.

ing, silent and anxious. In reply to the eager questions which were put to him, he briefly related what had passed; the Council had ordered him to march into the City with his troops, to pull down the chains, posts, and portcullises, and to arrest eleven of the principal citizens; and, in a few hours, as soon as day broke, he intended to execute those orders. Ashley Cooper expostulated: how could Monk undertake such a commission? did he wish to ruin himself in the opinion of all the honest people in England, and to place himself at the discretion of his enemies? Monk had made up his mind, and declined to enter into any discussion; he merely said that he could do no otherwise than obey, took leave of his two colleagues, and went to bed.

At daybreak on the 9th of February, his soldiers marched out of their barracks, and prepared as it were for a warlike expedition; not knowing on what service they were to be employed, they questioned each other eagerly. At length orders came for them to enter the City, and station themselves at certain fixed posts. Monk took up his head-quarters at a tavern called the Three Tuns, in the neighbourhood of Guildhall. There he assembled his officers, and communicated to them the instructions which he had to carry into execution. Most of them remonstrated; they felt, they said, so much respect and attachment to his person that they were unwilling, under any circumstances, to disobey him; but they could not make up their minds to become the instruments in an act of violence which would be, on their part, an act of odious ingratitude towards the City; they therefore begged him to accept their resignation, and to lay his

commands upon others. "Will you not obey the orders of the Parliament?" said Monk, striding up and down the room, and chewing his tobacco. Some of the officers understood his meaning, and remained firm; subalterns were directed to perform the task which their superiors persisted in refusing. The execution commenced; the posts and chains were removed; the citizens, collecting in groups in the streets, loudly expressed their surprise and indignation: "Is this," they said, "that Monk that would bring in the King? This is a Scottish devil. To what shall we come?" Attempts were made to mollify the General; he was invited to dine with the Corporation; he refused. Several of the most influential citizens requested an interview with him; he granted their request, and listened to them in silence. "The affections of the City to you are such," they said, "that whatever you reasonably can desire of us, shall be more easily obtained by persuasion than by force. Controversy between enemies has nothing extraordinary in it; but to be ill-treated by friends is very grievous. When Hewson marched into the City with a greater number of troops, he could not compass his ends; but now that you have put your most rigorous orders in execution, the people seem rather amazed with astonishment to receive such treatment from your hands, than provoked to resent the indignity of it." This speech appeared to make an impression on Monk, who saw that it opened a way for him to exchange a course of severity for one of compromise. "I have orders," he said, "to take down the gates and portcullises as well as the posts and chains, but I will immediately write to the Parliament to request them to miti-

gate their commands." And suspending the work of destruction, he wrote that same evening to the Speaker, in these terms: "In obedience to the commands received from the Council last night, I marched with your forces into the City this morning, and have secured all the persons ordered to be secured, except two who were not to be found. The posts and chains I have given orders to be taken away, but have hitherto forborne taking down the gates and portcullises, because it will, in all likelihood, exasperate the City; and I have good ground of hopes from them that they will levy the assess, they desiring only first to meet in Common Council, which they intend to do to-morrow morning. It seems probable to me that they will yield obedience to your commands, and be brought to a friendly compliance with you; for which reason I have suspended the execution of your commands touching the gates and portcullises, till I know your further pleasure therein, which I desire I may know by this bearer. I shall only desire that (so your commands may be answered with due obedience) such tenderness may be used towards them as may gain their affections. They desire the restoration of those members of their Common Council that are secured; which desire I shall only commend to your grave consideration." And in order to give a still more political signification to his letter, Monk added this postscript: "I shall become an humble suitor to you that you will be pleased to hasten your qualifications, that the writs may be sent out; I can assure you it will tend much to the peace of the country, and satisfy many honest men."[1]

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 838; Old Parliamentary History,

When this letter was read, the anger of the House was great; it disclosed at once a danger and a miscalculation. On learning that Monk was executing their orders, the leaders had flattered themselves that their victory was complete, that they had conquered at once both Monk and the City: "George is now our own, body and soul," Haslerig had exclaimed. On the morning of the same day, a popular manifestation, emanating from the City, had still further increased their confidence; a numerous body of Republican Sectaries, headed by the famous Barebone, on whom the Parliament had lately bestowed a lucrative appointment, had come to present a petition, full of the warmest expressions of attachment to the Commonwealth, and demanding that no one, great or small, should be admitted to hold any civil or military office unless he expressly abjured Charles Stuart and his race, and every other pretender to the Crown, as well as any House of Peers, or other power co-ordinate with that of the representatives of the people. The House had solemnly thanked the petitioners for their address, and for the good affections which it expressed. A few hours later, Monk's letter arrived, to solicit a concession in favour of the opposite party. The House refused to make any such concession; a vote was passed that its first orders should be fully executed, that the portcullises and gates of the City should be destroyed as well as the posts and chains; and two members, Scott and Pury, were

vol. xxii. pp. 92, 93; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 695; Price's Memoirs, pp. 102, 103; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 348, 349; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 236–242; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 213–218; Baker's Chronicle, p. 746; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 405, 406; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 674, 691–693.

directed to convey this vote immediately to Monk, and to require his prompt obedience. And to cut short every hope of compromise, the Common Council was dissolved, and orders were issued that a new Council should be elected, "with such qualifications as the Parliament should think fit."[1]

Monk did not hesitate; the manifest ill-humour of his officers and soldiers, when they learned the decision of the House, was an additional reason for his yielding obedience; the responsibility no longer rested upon him, and he was sure that the public indignation would be turned in another direction. The gates and portcullises were all taken down, as the posts and chains had been already. The soldiers went about their work with evident disgust, saying: "We have come from Scotland, where our enemies loved us, and are now employed to oppress our best friends." At Newgate, when the gates were broken in pieces, the officer in command distributed small fragments of the wood among his soldiers, with this observation: "These are the medals that the Parliament promised us at Coldstream." Reports of these scenes, and of the irritation that prevailed among both soldiers and people, were rapidly spread, and on hearing them, Colonel Morley, the governor of the Tower, called on Monk at his head-quarters, and assured him that both he and his brother, Colonel Sir John Fagg, were ready to act in concert with him in order to put a stop to this

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii, p. 838; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 94; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 695; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 349; Price's Memoirs, p. 104; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 213–216; Baker's Chronicle, p. 747; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 406, 407; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 691–693.

anarchical oppression. Monk welcomed these symptoms of the approaching storm, without in the meanwhile ceasing to obey his orders; and towards the end of the day, the work of destruction being fully accomplished, he withdrew his troops from the City, and returned to Whitehall.

On arriving there, he learned that the House, either from being satisfied with his conduct or wishing to appear so, had just voted[1] that the sum of ten pounds a day should be allowed to him, to commence on the day of his entrance into England. It had further granted him fifty pounds as an indemnity for the dinner which, on the previous day, he had refused to accept from the City: a disgraceful proof of the opinion already current with regard to his avarice, the basest of all vices by which great destinies can be sullied. But Monk's avarice made no change in his designs, and he received the favours of the House as the House granted them, without being moved thereby to any increase of confidence, or ceasing to continue its enemy. During the evening, his best officers and most trusted agents, Clarges, Dr. Barrow, Ashley Cooper, Colonels Cloberry, Lidcot, Knight, Saunders, and Barton, came to urge him to take a decisive course; he could not longer remain in the equivocal position which he had hitherto occupied; by obeying the House, he had discontented the City; by interceding for the City, he had incurred the suspicion of the House. At the same time that it affected to feel so much gratitude towards him, the House was seeking for allies against him in all quarters; Haslerig was labouring hard

[1] On the 10th of February, 1660.

to debauch his regiments; Vane and Lambert themselves, though so odious to the dominant faction, and notwithstanding the decree of banishment so recently pronounced against them, nevertheless remained still in London, and had entered into a secret understanding with the leaders of the House. By a bold and sudden vote, Monk might be deprived of his command, and forced to choose between open revolt and absolute nullity. It was of urgent importance that he should recover the shaken confidence of the City and of the entire Presbyterian party; and in this he could succeed only by openly declaring for a full and free Parliament, and putting an end to the vain promises and delays which were ruining both himself and his country.[1]

Monk at first appeared undecided and inclined to procrastinate still further; he required two days, he said, in order to concert with his officers. Great men alone are able, in critical moments, to make up their minds with prompt audacity, and to take upon themselves the responsibility of their resolution, instead of waiting until events or men force it upon them. Naturally slow and circumspect, Monk became bold only at the last moment, and under the pressure of necessity. He did not however in this emergency, require long persuasion; before the evening was over, he had adopted and put in practice the advice given him; he directed some of his confidants to prepare a letter to the Parliament, expressive of the grievances and lawful desires of the country, and

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 840; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 349; Baker's Chronicle, p. 747; Price's Memoirs, pp. 105, 106; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 244; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 219; Wingrove Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. i. p. 225.

requiring their redress and satisfaction before a certain day. Twelve officers had orders to make all necessary preparations for an immediate movement of the troops, and to hold themselves, with a strong detachment, at the General's disposal, in front of Whitehall, at six o'clock on the following morning. When these measures had been agreed on, and all his agents set at work, Monk retired to his room. When he made his appearance again, before daybreak on the following morning, the 11th of February, 1660, the letter to the Parliament was ready, and the officers were assembled. The letter was read aloud to them; Monk signed it first of all; fourteen colonels and other superior officers, signed it after him; two of them, Cloberry and Lidcot, were deputed to convey it to the House, but not until the General had left Whitehall. The troops were then put in motion and Monk marched at their head into the City, whither, two hours previously, Clarges had been sent to inform the Lord Mayor of the approaching arrival of the General and his army, and to prepare for them a good reception and convenient quarters.

The success of this measure was not easy to secure; the City, which still regarded Monk and his army with great distrust, was alarmed at the rumour of their sudden return. The Lord Mayor received Clarges with visible ill-temper; what was the General's object in coming? he asked; did he intend to ravage and humiliate the City a second time? Clarges was embarrassed for an answer; he had been ordered not to reveal Monk's true design, until it should be known what effect his letter had produced on the Parliament; he entered into

conversation however with some of the aldermen with whom he was on friendly terms, and gave them some hint of what was in preparation. Chaplain Price, who had also come into the City before his patron, and taken up his quarters at the Three Tuns tavern where Monk had previously lodged, was surrounded by a crowd of curious citizens, who plied him with questions indicative of the greatest alarm. He freely told them to dismiss their fears; "we are not now the same men that we were two days ago," he said, "and this you shall find before night." Meanwhile, Monk had halted with his troops in Finsbury Fields, where Clarges sent him word that, before bringing his men into the City, it would be well for him to wait in person on the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Allen, in order to quiet his apprehensions, and be his guest at dinner. Monk proceeded at once to his Lordship's residence. "General," said the Lord Mayor to him, "you are very welcome to my house; but the City is full of fears at your sudden return, after such violent actions as your soldiers were employed on yesterday." "I hope," replied Monk, "to make it of another mind in a few hours; meanwhile I desire your Lordship to appoint the Aldermen and Common Council to meet me at four o'clock in Guildhall, that I may acquaint them with my intentions." These words were almost sufficient to explain his purpose; the Common Council which Monk desired to meet was the very body which the Parliament had just dissolved. The Lord Mayor, without further hesitation, gave orders that it should be summoned immediately. The party then sat down to table; the dinner was gay and trustful; at every mo-

ment, the good understanding and mutual hopes of the guests increased; and they were preparing to proceed to the meeting at Guildhall, when it was announced that two commissioners of the Parliament, Scott and Robinson, had arrived, and requested an interview with the General.[1]

His letter, which had been delivered by the two officers at the time appointed, had thrown the House into great consternation; its demands were peremptory, and its language hard and menacing, notwithstanding the introduction of a few phrases of formal humility. The House was accused of secret connivance with the very men who had lately expelled it from Westminster; Lambert and Vane were mentioned by name, Ludlow was hinted at. It was reproached with wishing to impose a new oath, which would exclude from public employments all honest and conscientious men, and from Christian pulpits all the most pious ministers in the nation. Finally, it was required to issue on the following Friday, the 17th of February, all the writs which were necessary to complete the number of the House by new elections; "and we must not forget to remember you," added the petitioners, "that the time hastens wherein you have declared your intended dissolution, which the people and ourselves desire you will be punctual in." No other trace of the feelings which this letter doubtless excited now remains than the following resolution: "That the thanks of this House be given to General Monk, for his faithful service; and that, as to the filling up of the

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 747, 748; Price's Memoirs, p. 106; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 246–249; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 221–224.

House, the Parliament were upon the qualifications, before the receipt of the said letter; and the same will be despatched in due time." This was the message which Scott and Robinson were charged to convey to him. Monk received them in the midst of his officers, who freely took part in the conversation. "The General has no reason," said Colonel Bridges, "to credit your fair speeches, since your words and your practices agree not together. When I came from the Irish army to impeach Ludlow and Jones of high treason, I could have no justice, but was put off from day to day; whereas Praisegod Barebone could be heard and admitted with a seditious petition the first moment he came to the door of the House." The two commissioners firmly repelled these attacks; and, addressing Monk in a tone of long-established and confident friendship, they urged him to return to Whitehall, for fear lest contact with a disaffected populace might shake the fidelity of his soldiers. But Monk cut short all discussion by saying: "All will be well, if you strictly observe the advice of the letter, and issue out writs on Friday next for filling up your House." With this observation, he took leave of the commissioners, and proceeded to Guildhall.[1]

"The employment whereon I was sent, at my last being in the City," he said, on entering the Council-chamber, "was the most ungrateful to me that ever I undertook, and was so much against my inclination that, if anything less than quitting my command could have prevented it, I would never have undertaken it. Not

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 98–103; Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 841; Baker's Chronicle, p. 748.

that I value my commission, out of any respect to myself, for I have often desired to lay it down; but I know how much it imports both you and me, to keep it out of the hands of such as most probably would not be so well inclined as I am to the settlement of these nations. I have not forgotten your kind letter, which I received at Morpeth, wherein I affectionately concurred, but was forced to retire backward, like a fencing-master, to make the better guard, and the more advantageous assault. What I have now to tell you is this: I have this morning sent to the Parliament, to issue out writs within seven days for the filling up of their House, and when filled, to sit no longer than the 6th of May, but then to give place to a full and free Parliament. To this end I am come to stay with you, until we shall see our desires fulfilled."[1]

This speech was received with hearty and unanimous applause; fear was dispelled, and hope revived, in the breasts of all who heard it; Monk left the hall amid loud cries of "God bless your Excellency!" The mob, and the news, spread like lightning through the City; bands of apprentices marched through the streets, shouting: "The General is with us! down with the Rump!" The bells of all the churches were soon set ringing: and bonfires were lighted in the public squares and streets. "I counted seven or eight in King-street," says Samuel Pepys; "fourteen between St. Dunstan's Church and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge I could at one time tell thirty-one fires." The populace crowded round these fires, bringing all the hind-quarters of meat which they

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 748; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 227, 228; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 249, 250; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 695.

could find in the butchers' shops, and which the butchers themselves readily contributed; these they threw into the burning heap, or brandished amidst the flames, roasting the Rump with songs and dances, and sometimes with bumpers to the King's health. Monk's soldiers, after having passed the day under arms in Finsbury Fields, entered the City in the evening, to be welcomed, feasted, and entertained by the citizens in their houses, as restorers of their country's freedom. It would not have been safe for any one to exhibit any disagreement with the popular feeling; a report was spread that Scott and Robinson were still in the City; the apprentices made it their business to search every coach in quest of them; in one they found the two chaplains, Gumble and Price, who had just left the General; believing them to be the commissioners of the Parliament, they pelted them with mud, shouting: "Here they are!" and they would have been still more seriously maltreated, if the mistake had not been speedily discovered. Ashley Cooper and Colonel Popham incurred a similar danger; having been arrested and recognized as members of the Parliament, the mob surrounded their carriage with cries of "Down with the Rump!" Sir Anthony looked out, and said to them, smiling, "What, gentlemen, not one good piece in a rump?" The people laughed, and allowed them to pass unmolested. This ferment continued all night, and the mob, growing more and more excited, manifested some disposition, on the following day, to go and expel the Speaker from his chair, and the Parliament from its hall. But Monk, warned in time of this tendency, took vigorous measures to repress any such proceedings;

he had an antipathy to disorder, even when it led to victory; and he ordered several of his soldiers to be severely punished for acts of violence and insubordination during these days of tumultuous joy.[1]

When Scott and Robinson returned to Westminster to give an account of their mission,—when news arrived of what was going on in the City,—the Republican Parliament felt itself at once stricken to the heart and transported with rage and indignation: then began those contradictory resolutions, those incoherent measures, those abrupt alternations of temerity and fear, of resistance and concession, of futile violence and equally futile artifice, which reveal the distress, and presage the downfall, of governments. The discussion of the question of the command of the army was immediately resumed; it was decided[2] that no General-in-chief should be appointed, and that five commissioners should be entrusted with the government of the forces; but no time was lost in declaring that Monk should be one of the five; and at the same moment, in order to secure a majority against him in the committee from which the House did not dare to exclude him, Colonel Alured, his enemy, was elected to be one of his colleagues, in opposition to Ashley Cooper, his partisan. More than this; it had been decided that the presence of three members out of five should suffice to form a quorum; Monk's friends demanded that he

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 106; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 349; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 409–411; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 681; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 26, 27; Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 335; Wingrove Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. i. p. 226; Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 696, 697.

[2] On the 11th of February, 1660.

should be necessarily one of the three; the proposition was rejected. It was the object of the House to render him a nullity, without quarrelling with him. A month's pay was voted to the whole army, and it was resolved that all the arrears due to the troops which had come from Scotland with Monk should be immediately discharged.[1] But these favours were illusory, for the public treasury did not contain a fourth part of the sum required for the purpose, and the City could no longer be resorted to for loans. The debate on the bill for regulating future elections was brought to a conclusion; but under various political and religious pretexts, disabilities and exclusions were multiplied to such a degree that almost the whole nation was debarred from the exercise of political rights, and the Republican faction alone invested with them.[2] A proposition was even made for disfranchising all those persons who had signed the petitions which had lately been presented, demanding a full and free Parliament; and this proposition was lost by only one vote. It was again resolved that an oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth should be required from all Councillors of State; but they were dispensed from any formal abjuration of the Stuart family and its pretensions.[3] Finally, at the very moment when the union of the whole Republican party was more than ever necessary, and after all the secret efforts which had been made to recover the support of Lambert, Vane, and their friends, against Monk, an attempt was made to give Monk satisfaction by the

[1] On the 13th and 14th of February, 1660.

[2] On the 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 18th of February, 1660.

[3] On the 14th of February, 1660.

resumption of vigorous measures against them. Those members of the House, who, after the 13th of October, 1659, had lent their countenance to Lambert and the Committee of Safety, were ordered to attend at the bar of the House within seven days, in order to justify their conduct; Lambert himself was summoned, by a special proclamation, to appear within three days before the Council of State, on pain of the sequestration of his property;[1] and the Serjeant-at-Arms was commanded forthwith to convey Sir Harry Vane to Belleau, his country-seat in Lincolnshire.[2]

Vane was preparing to leave London, when Ludlow paid him a visit; and the two Republicans, so different in natural disposition, the one an imaginative Christian, the other a logical soldier, but both equally sincere in their convictions, indulged themselves in the melancholy pleasure of deploring together the ruin of their common hopes. "Unless I am much mistaken," said Vane, "Monk has yet several masks to pull off. For what concerns myself, I have all possible satisfaction of mind as to those actions which God has enabled me to do for the Commonwealth; and I hope the same God will fortify me in my sufferings, how sharp soever they may be, so that I may bear a faithful and constant testimony to His cause." His noble heart, which still had so much

[1] On the 13th of February, 1660.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 103–131; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 349; Price's Memoirs, p. 107; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 230–233; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 682; Wingrove Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. i. p. 227; Harleian Tracts, vol. v. pp. 69–74; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 696.

suffering in store for it, was already fortifying itself against its presentiments of martyrdom.[1]

At Brussels and in England, the King and the Royalists followed with anxious curiosity all the incidents of this conflict, at first carried on secretly, then noisily blazoned forth, and always conducted with hypocrisy on both sides. Monk and his designs remained an enigma to them. "This day does so differ from yesterday," wrote Mr. Cooper to Hyde, "nay, every day so much differs from itself, through the strange variety and contradiction of actions, that I know not but that what I write now as a probable conjecture, from the present complexion of things, may prove a gross error before I seal up my letter." "Your Majesty," wrote Mordaunt to the King, "hears the opinion of so many concerning Monk, that mine will prove of little satisfaction to you; but if I hear his character right, he is covetous, surly, and proud. If this be his nature, he will prove malleable, there being none of those humours, how peccant soever, but may be rectified." When Charles learned that Monk had fully carried out the orders of the House in reference to the City, he fell, and all his little Court with him, into a state of deep despondency; all hope seemed to him to be lost; he saw before him nothing but perpetual exile, with all those distresses and annoyances of which he had already had such long experience. But on the same day, towards evening, the Marquis of Ormonde brought to the Chancellor, whose apartment was beneath that occupied by the King, a young man named Baily, who had arrived from London with extraordinary rapidity, and who told

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 350.

news so strange that those who heard it were tempted to believe him drunk or mad. But Ormonde recognized him as one who had formerly been an officer under him, and he was the bearer of a few lines in the handwriting of Sir John Stephens, a Cavalier well known to the King, and who had been for some time a prisoner in London. Baily was in the City at the period of Monk's visit to Guildhall, and had witnessed the popular enthusiasm; he had heard the bells ring, he had seen the bonfires; men had drunk the King's health before his very eyes. He had immediately taken post to Dover, where he hired a boat that carried him to Ostend; and he brought not merely a note from Sir John Stephens to Ormonde, but a copy of the menacing letter which Monk had written to the Parliament, on his return with his troops into the City. The King, hearing of his arrival, came into Hyde's apartment, listened to Baily's narrative, questioned him closely, and read Monk's letter over and over again. It was impossible to doubt its authenticity; the good news spread rapidly among the exiles, and revived their disconsolate hearts. "They thought all their sufferings over," says Hyde; "and laid in a stock of such vast hopes, as would have been very hard for any success to procure satisfaction for."[1]

They had still much impatience to endure, and many disappointments to suffer. The more important the step which Monk had taken, the more determined was he to do nothing precipitately, and to go no further until the propitious moment arrived, when he could act under the

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 681, 683; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 420–423.

pressure of necessity, and with the appearance of legality. Revolutions leave so much distrust and distaste for violent proceedings in the minds of all men of sense who have gone through them, that they feel a repugnance to have recourse to them themselves, even when their employment seems easy and their success assured. Perhaps also, in his haughty taciturnity, Monk took some secret pleasure in keeping the King and the people in suspense, at the disposal of his judgment and will. Quietly established in the City, at Drapers' Hall and the house of Alderman Wale, he remained on terms of courteous communication with the Republican Parliament, which carefully avoided every appearance of rupture; as well as with the Presbyterian and Royalist deputations which waited on him to request, without making any further demand, the re-admission of the secluded members and the convocation of a new Parliament; and with the secluded members themselves, Annesley, Prynne, Hollis, Lewis, Grimstone, Evelyn, and others, who came to promise him that they would act with moderation and reserve when they had resumed their seats. The opposite opinions and mutual hostility of all these visitors caused Monk no embarrassment; by means of very obscure agents, under circumstances of great secrecy, and more especially to some few women, of whose discreet ingenuity he had good proof, among others, to Christina, Countess of Devonshire, he sometimes made known his real views; but when he found himself in presence of public men and acknowledged opinions, he remained imperturbably faithful to his policy of silence or falsehood, without taking the slightest heed of the surprise or incredulity of his

hearers. Ludlow, somewhat alarmed at Monk's prejudice against him, went to pay him a visit in the City. Monk unhesitatingly repeated what he had stated to him and Admiral Lawson a week previously: "We must live and die together for a Commonwealth." "I am informed," said Ludlow, "that you are much pressed to restore the secluded members; who being highly enraged, will not fail to bring all things into confusion, and will possibly endeavour to bring in the King." "It may be," answered Monk, "that they will attempt it, but they say they will not; but I assure you, though I bear as much respect to Parliament as any man, yet if I should observe a Parliament to be about such a thing, I would interrupt them therein." Henry Martyn, who was on terms of long-standing familiarity with Monk, also went to see him, and asked him which he really intended to support, a King or a Commonwealth? "A Commonwealth," replied Monk; "you know as well as any man that, for many years, I have been of opinion that the government of this country should be in a Commonwealth." "I am bound to believe your Excellency," answered Martyn; "but permit me to say that you remind me of a tailor who being sent for to make a suit of clothes, brings with him a budget of carpenter's tools, and being told that such things are not at all fit for the work he has been desired to do, answers, 'Oh! it matters not! I will do your work well enough, I warrant you.'"[1]

Monk probably cared little for the doubts and sar-

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 696; Price's Memoirs, pp. 107–110; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 234; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 342, 352, 353; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 679.

casms of Henry Martyn; but in spite of his assurance and his success, he felt the difficulties of his situation increase; for falsehood soon wears itself out, and it is a hard task to deceive for any length of time. Five days had scarcely elapsed since his entrance into the City, before he ascertained that disquietude and disunion were gaining ground among his officers; some of them, who were sincerely attached to the Commonwealth, began to feel alarmed for its safety; others were anxious about the arrears due to them, and the confiscated property which had been conferred on them, and asked what guarantee they were to have for the satisfaction of their claims; in spite of their assertions to the contrary, Haslerig and his friends still continued their intrigues in the regiments; and the secluded members were regarded, by the army which had been the instrument of their expulsion, with feelings of inveterate animosity and strong distrust. Monk brought about some meetings between them and his officers, at his own house; the latter declared that they would be glad to see the secluded members resume their seats, provided that they would pronounce in favour of the Republican form of government, and would pledge themselves to confirm all the sales and grants of confiscated estates which had been effected since their expulsion. This was more than the Royalist Presbyterians could or would promise. Clarges, Cloberry and Gumble were employed by the General to mediate between the two parties, with a view to induce them to consent to terms of reconciliation of a less precise and unalterable character; but their efforts produced but little effect. Monk then attempted a still more difficult

plan; he assembled at his house, in presence of his most intelligent officers, the chief of the secluded members and the leaders of the Republican Parliament, in the faint hope that the latter, after personal conference with their former colleagues, would themselves consent to their re-admission into the House. The conference began pleasantly enough; the secluded members declared that they would resume their seats in the House in no spirit of reaction or of vengeance, that they had no intention to call in question anything that the Parliament had done during their absence, or to disturb any one in the enjoyment of his property or rights, and that their sole desire was to contribute towards the restoration of peace throughout the nation by preparing the way for a new Parliament. The officers seemed affected at hearing men of such great influence speak in language so moderate; some even of the Republican members appeared disposed to conciliation; but some severe reflections made by Annesley with regard to what had occurred in the Parliament since its mutilation, caused Haslerig to rise from his seat in anger, and prepare to leave the room. Monk however detained him, saying, "Be patient till I shall moderate Annesley, which I know well enough how to do." Haslerig resumed his seat; Annesley continued his observations, until Haslerig could contain himself no longer, and left the room. Less impetuous, St. John, Hutchinson, Rawleigh, and a few others remained; but the conference produced no result. While these vain attempts at reconciliation were in progress, the threatened Republicans were not inactive. The Council of State, in order to entice Monk out of the City, without insisting any more

on his taking the oath of abjuration of the Stuart family, invited him to attend its meetings.[1] Monk replied that he could not do so, until the House had taken measures for removing the grievances, and complying with the desires, set forth in the letter which he had addressed to it on leaving Whitehall. The House secretly consulted the judges on two questions: first, whether, if it pronounced its own dissolution, that would not constitute a legal impediment to any ulterior meeting of the secluded members, and to any pretension, on their part, to form a Parliament; and secondly, whether, if the members actually sitting caused all the vacant seats to be filled up by new elections, they would not constitute that great Parliament which had been invested, by Charles I. himself, with the right of being dissolved only by its own consent. The judges declined to give any opinion on these points, alleging that it was not their province to assign its due limits to the sovereign power. It was evident however from all these symptoms, that the Republican Parliament regarded the re-admission of the secluded members as a question of life or death, and would have greatly preferred to die by its own hand, leaving everything in doubt and confusion, than to strip itself of the sovereign power by sharing it with its enemies. In presence of this state of affairs, which every day became more critical though it appeared to remain stationary, Monk resolved to do himself, without delay, that which he could not succeed in bringing to pass by the natural course of things, and with the consent of the parties concerned.[2]

[1] On the 13th of February, 1660.

[2] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 749, 750; Price's Memoirs, p. 111; Ludlow's

On the 20th of February, after having arranged his plan with his most trusty officers, he summoned the secluded members to his house, and presented to them, as a sort of ultimatum for their immediate signature, a declaration which he had had prepared, and which pledged them to confine their efforts, on returning into the House: first, to regulating the command of the army, in such a manner as might be most conducive to the peace of the Commonwealth; secondly, to providing for the maintenance of the forces by sea and land, for the payment of the arrears due to them, and for the contingencies of the government; thirdly, to instituting a Council of State for the civil government of Scotland and Ireland, and making arrangements for the convocation of a Parliament at Westminster on the 20th of April following; and fourthly, to pronouncing their own dissolution, within a specified time. They could not hesitate to accept such very reasonable conditions. Time pressed; the Republican Parliament, two days previously, had come to a final vote on its electoral law, and given orders to its Speaker, Lenthall, to issue writs for new elections to all the vacant seats, including those of the secluded members. Lenthall however had refused to execute this order; he would go to the Tower, he said; rather than incur the risk of being sued at law by every one of the secluded members, for having caused his place to be filled up. The House fluctuated for a time between anger and perplexity;

Memoirs, p. 353; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 260–262; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 235–239; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 696; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 411; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 688, 689; Wingrove Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. i. pp. 228–230; Somers' Tracts, vol. vi. pp. 544–550; Pepys' Diary, vol. i. p. 28.

finally however it empowered the Commissioners of the Great Seal, instead of the Speaker, to issue the writs for the new elections. Not a day was to be lost; it was of the utmost importance that the secluded members should hasten to resume their seats, on pain of finding them occupied by other persons. They subscribed the engagement which Monk proposed to them, and he appointed them to meet him on the following morning at Whitehall, as he was determined himself to leave his stronghold in the City at the moment when his new allies proceeded to resume possession of the Parliament.[1]

On arriving at Whitehall on the following morning,[2] Monk found assembled to meet him, not only the secluded members, but several of the members actually holding seats in the Republican Parliament, who had shown themselves favourable to the re-admission of their former colleagues, and whose presence he had doubtless invited on this occasion, in order that he might appear to be speaking and acting before the whole House. "Gentlemen," said he to them, "you are not, I hope, ignorant what care and endeavours have been used, and means essayed, for healing the breaches of our divisions amongst ourselves; and that, in order thereunto, divers conferences have been procured between you, though to small effect; yet having at length received fuller satisfaction from these worthy gentlemen that were secluded, I was bold to put

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 750–752; Price's Memoirs, pp. 113, 114; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 355, 356; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 240–244; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 262; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 688, 689; Carte's Ormond Letters, vol. ii. p. 309; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 30.

[2] The 21st of February, 1660.

you all to the trouble of this meeting, that I might open myself to you all, even with more freedom than formerly. But lest I might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it has befallen me, I have committed to writing the heads of what I intended to discourse to you." His secretary then read to them a speech which assuredly would have appeared strange to those who heard it, if they had not been long acquainted with and accustomed to the cool effrontery of their patron. It was a formal declaration in favour of the Commonwealth, as the only government which, in the existing state of affairs and opinions, could meet the requirements of the three nations, the City of London, and the Protestant Church of England. "As to the way of future settlement," he said, "far be it from me to impose anything. I desire you may be in perfect freedom. Only give me leave to mind you that the old foundations are, by God's providence, so broken that, in the eye of reason, they cannot be restored but upon the ruin of the people of these nations, that have engaged for their rights in defence of the Parliament. And thereby also, the liberty of the people's representatives in Parliament will certainly be lost, for if the people find that, after so long and bloody a war against the King for breaking in upon their liberties, yet at last he must be taken in again, it will be out of question, and is most manifest, he may in future govern by his will, dispose of Parliaments and Parliament-men as he pleases, and yet the people will never more rise for their assistance." He made some reservations in favour of "those Lords who have shown themselves noble indeed, by joining with the people in defence of their just

rights;" explained the four conditions which the secluded members had subscribed on the previous day; and dismissed them with these words: "In order to these good ends, the guards will not only willingly admit you into your House, but faithfully, both myself and all the officers under my command, and I believe, the officers and soldiers of the three nations, will spend their blood for you and for successive Parliaments."[1]

Under the escort of Major Miller, who commanded the General's guard, the secluded members proceeded to Westminster; other officers awaited them at the door of the House; they entered it, amid profound silence but deep emotion. On seeing them, some of the Republican leaders, with Haslerig at their head, rose and left the hall. "This is your doing," said Haslerig to Ashley Cooper as he passed him; "but it shall cost blood." "Your own, if you please," replied Sir Anthony. But this sudden resolution was not contagious; most of the members who had sate until then remained, some gladly, others with resignation. A letter arrived from Monk; it was, in the form of a Declaration to the House, a copy of the speech which he had just delivered to the assembled members at Whitehall; it was read, without comment. During the day, Monk despatched to all the regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland, another letter, signed by himself and twenty-seven superior officers, to announce to them what had taken place, to explain the causes which had led to the occurrence, and to request their support; and on the following day, the

[1] Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 140, 143, 170; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 412–417.

22nd of February, in order to be further away from both the Parliament and the City, and to appear a more complete stranger to Parliamentary and popular agitations, he left Whitehall, and established his head-quarters in St. James's Palace.[1]

Under the guidance of Haslerig, seventeen of the exasperated Republicans who had withdrawn from the House, went to see Monk, as they could not make up their minds to believe that their cause was lost, and as the distrust which his acts inspired was considerably modified by his language. They wished, they said, to learn from his own mouth the reasons which had induced him to restore the secluded members to their seats. "To free myself from their importunities," answered Monk; "but I will take effectual care to prevent them from doing any hurt in that place." "But will you join with us against Charles Stuart and his party?" asked the visitors. "Sir Arthur," said Monk, turning to Haslerig, "I have often declared to you my resolution so to do;" then, taking off his glove, and placing his hand in that of Haslerig, he added: "I do here protest to you, in the presence of these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a House of Peers. What is it that I have done in bringing these members into the House? Though others cut off the King's head, and that justly, are not they the same that brought him to the block?"[2]

In order to lull the suspicions of the Republicans,

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 696; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 170; Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 847; Wingrove Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. i. p. 230.

[2] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 358.

Monk did not remain satisfied with repeating this brutal falsehood. When they saw the secluded members restored to their places in the House of Commons, the old Lords, who had formerly supported the Parliament against the King, wished to obtain the re-establishment of their own House, which had been abolished at the same time with royalty. The most politic among them disapproved of this attempt as premature. "For the Lords to go about at present asserting their rights," wrote the Earl of Northumberland to the Earl of Manchester, on the 5th of March, 1660, "would, I think, be ill-timed, especially seeing no part of the nation but ourselves have as yet expressed any desire that we should return to the exercise of our duties in Parliament; and all in power or authority have either openly or impliedly declared against us."[1] But more impatient counsels prevailed; among others, the young Earl of Strafford, who inherited the bold and impetuous disposition of his father, insisted strongly that the Peers should themselves resume, without hesitation, the exercise of their right. With this view, several presented themselves at the door of their House; but Monk had given peremptory instructions; and Major Miller, the same officer who had escorted the secluded members back to the House of Commons, roughly ordered the Lords away, declaring that they should not enter.[2]

[1] An unpublished letter, which I found in Kimbolton Castle, among family papers kindly communicated to me by his Grace the late Duke of Manchester.

[2] Price's Memoirs, p. 114; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 357; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 268; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 242; Baker's Chronicle, p. 754; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 729; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. p. 311.

It was of little consequence to the monarchical reaction whether the Lords were, or were not, in a position to take part in it; by re-opening the House of Commons to the Presbyterians, Monk had struck the decisive blow. The Republic was conquered. The men who, twenty years before, had desired to reform and not to destroy the monarchy, re-entered into possession of the supreme power: more irritated than enlightened, still desiring the political reform which they had attempted to effect, though not yet clearly comprehending its conditions, and determined, in any case, to take shelter in the haven of monarchy, in order to restore tranquillity to the country, and utterly to destroy the Republicans, their last enemies. Difficulties, uncertainties, hypocrisies, had still to be contended with and continued for awhile; the King was not yet on his throne; but the Commonwealth no longer had any arms or ramparts to bar the way against him.

The renewed Parliament lost no time in giving unmistakable evidence of its opinions and designs. On the very day of the return of the secluded members into the House, after having annulled and ordered to be erased from the Journals, all the votes which, in 1648, 1649, 1659, and even still more recently, had ordained or ratified their expulsion, it appointed Monk General-in-chief of all the land-forces of the country, withdrew all power from the four commissioners who had previously shared the command with him, dissolved the Republican Council of State, and ordered the formation of a new Council, which was chosen on the following day. Of the known servants of the Commonwealth or of Cromwell, two only, Chief-Justice St. John, and Widdrington, one of the

Keepers of the Great Seal, retained their seats in that body; the other members, to the number of twenty-nine, were such men as Hollis, Fairfax, Pierrepoint, Annesley, Grimstone, Maynard and Ashley Cooper, who all belonged to the Reforming but Monarchical party. The new Council was invested with the most extensive powers in matters of police, even with the right of ordering the arrest of members of Parliament, if necessary to the public safety. On being informed that it had been dissolved, the old Council of State obeyed and separated, without the least attempt at opposition.[1]

By an arrangement which had no doubt been concerted with Monk, the House, on appointing him General-in-chief of the land-forces, named the Republican Lawson Vice-Admiral of the naval forces of the Commonwealth; but, ten days afterwards,[2] the command of the fleet which was sent to sea for that year was conferred on Monk in conjunction with Admiral Montague, whose tendencies were well known; and Lawson continued to serve, discontented but submissive.[3]

Scott, a declared enemy, was immediately deprived of the post of Secretary of State,[4] which included the administration of the police and the direction of foreign affairs; and the House, dividing the functions of the office, by a vote of the 27th of February, appointed Colonel

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 846, 847, 849, 851, 852; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 696; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 155.

[2] On the 2nd of March, 1660.

[3] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 847, 860, 861; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 697; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 418, 419; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 37, 47.

[4] On the 23rd of February, 1660.

Thompson, one of Monk's confidential officers, and Thurloe, to whom Haslerig's faction had rendered essential service by persecuting him. Great and natural suspicion still attached to him; but he was a man of recognized ability, and almost the only one at all acquainted with foreign affairs; he had many friends among the victorious party; there were many even of the strictest Royalists who did not despair of gaining him over to their side; and he was known to be always more inclined to serve than to combat the dominant power. Policy outweighed animosity and repugnance; he was appointed by sixty-five votes against thirty-eight.[1]

The central government having been thus reconstructed, the House turned its attention to the provinces. A large number of sheriffs and justices of the peace, who were hostile to its political views, were superseded. The local militia was disbanded, in order to be reorganized under the command of officers who could be trusted, such as the great landowners, the country gentlemen, and influential citizens who were known to be not very friendly to republican institutions. Provision was made for the regular continuance of the administration of justice.[2] Measures were taken for securing the levy of a general tax of one hundred thousand pounds a month. But the necessities of the State were more pressing than the receipts were prompt; and the City was applied to for assistance. Already well-disposed towards the renewed Parliament,

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. p. 855; Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 696, 697; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 693; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 859.

[2] By votes of the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 27th, and 29th of February, and of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th of March, 1660.

it had received, at the earliest opportunity, all the satisfaction it desired. All its franchises had been restored to it;[1] its Common Council had been authorized to resume its functions; the posts, chains, gates, and portcullises had been replaced in the streets at the cost of the State. It readily promised an advance of sixty thousand pounds, and the aldermen, accompanied by a numerous retinue, came to announce this loan to the House, on the 23rd of February, and to present a petition for the speedy reorganization of the City Militia. "The confidence which the Parliament put in the City," they said, "will not be misplaced, nor their expectations frustrated. The City do congratulate the happy return of the Parliament. Some persons are for a monarchy; some for a commonwealth; and some for no government at all. The last we dislike; for the other, we shall not presume to direct, but shall acquiesce and submit to the determination of Parliament." The Speaker praised them for their reserve no less than for their zeal. "If," he said, "we may measure affections by the number of the persons that came to present your petition, we may say you brought the affections of the whole City with you. . . . Whatever mistakes have been formerly, it cannot but be a happy day to all but our enemies, in that all the affections of the City and Parliament are joined together. You have shown yours, as well by your words as your actions; and the Parliament have commanded me to give you very hearty thanks."[2]

[1] On the 22nd of February, 1660.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 848, 849, 850, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 861, 862, 865, 867, 859, 871; Old Parliamentary History,

In regard to religious affairs, the House displayed the same activity. Not that the men who had just resumed their seats were all as deeply preoccupied with religion as with politics, or that they all had it as much at heart to introduce the Presbyterian system into the Church as to re-establish monarchy in the State; among them, there were partisans of the Episcopal Church, and persons to whom all religious systems were alike indifferent, but there were also many sincere Presbyterians; and all felt that it was among the Presbyterian party, outside Westminster, that their active and reliable strength lay: and that it was by means of its ministers, throughout the country, and more especially in the City of London, that they acted most powerfully on the people, and rallied them around them. They were eager therefore to give this party ground for satisfaction and hope. A special committee was appointed for the consideration of religious affairs; and the House resolved that it would devote at least an hour every day to hearing and discussing its reports.[1] The Covenant, that religious and political bond of the Presbyterians, became once more the banner of the Parliament; it was ordered that it should be put up in all the churches as well as in the House, and read once a year to the congregations.[2] The Confession of Faith, prepared in 1646, by the Assembly of the Presbyterian clergy, was adopted by the House, with a few slight modifications.[3] Measures were taken for

vol. xxii. pp. 155, 158; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 698; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 358; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. p. 310.

[1] On the 29th of February and 1st of March, 1660.

[2] On the 5th of March, 1660.

[3] On the 2nd of March, 1660.

securing in all parishes the regular preaching of the Gospel, and the choice of godly ministers, and for establishing them definitively in the benefices which they occupied.[1] Finally, the laws against the Catholics, which Cromwell and the Commonwealth, though retaining them in the Statute-book, had allowed to fall into abeyance rather than otherwise, were again put in force; a proclamation was issued recommending their vigorous execution, and offering a reward of twenty pounds to any person who should discover a Popish priest or a Jesuit, and bring him before a magistrate.[2] Such was the deplorable spirit of iniquity and tyranny which still prevailed in the Christian world,—a sad precursor of the crimes and evils which were ere long to be entailed on England by the same cause.[3]

The House had resolved that, in order to apply itself exclusively to public affairs, it would not take into consideration any proposition or measure, involving merely private interests.[4] But there were acts of injustice, and sufferings of a pressing nature, to be repaired. The execution of the sequestrations which had been ordered by the Republicans was suspended. The city of Chester was restored to possession of its charter,[5] of which it had been deprived on the occasion of Booth's insurrection. The House set at liberty a large number of persons who had been imprisoned, some as Royalists, others as having signed petitions demanding a full and free Parliament.

[1] On the 14th and 16th of March, 1660.

[2] On the 5th and 8th of March, 1660.

[3] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 855, 856, 862, 867, 868, 871, 880; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 697; Pepys' Diary, vol. i. p. 40.

[4] On the 23rd of February, 1660. [5] On the 27th of February, 1660.

Lords Lindsay, Lauderdale, and Sinclair, Wren, Bishop of Ely (who had been confined in the Tower for nearly twenty years), Sir George Booth, Sir Robert Pye, Colonel Bloomfield, and a host of others who had been engaged more or less recently in the strife of parties, recovered their freedom,—some exasperated, others moderated by misfortune and defeat, and all restored to activity and hope. Thus, though the standard of the Commonwealth was still erect, the monarchy visibly gained ground; the Royalist Presbyterians, masters in the House of Commons, were resuming possession of power all over the country.[1]

In presence of this reaction, Monk remained quietly in his head-quarters at St. James's, but little inclined to take part in the new government, and leaving all responsibility to the Parliament. All eyes were meanwhile fixed on him. The King of Denmark wrote to compliment him on his conduct, and to congratulate him on his success. M. de Bordeaux, the French ambassador, went to visit him, and assured him of the friendship and good-will of Mazarin.[2] Numerous congratulatory addresses were sent to him from the various counties. The City of London and all the great corporations—the cloth-workers, the goldsmiths, the mercers, the vintners, the fishmongers, the cordwainers—gave him banquets and festivals. At all these meetings, the public feeling found expression; the arms of the Commonwealth were removed from the walls and doors, and the royal arms put

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 846, 847, 848, 854, 861, 871, 877; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 136, 145.

[2] On the 8th of March, 1660. Bordeaux to Mazarin, 8th and 18th of March, 1660. See APPENDIX.

up in their place; the King's health was drunk; after one feast, a poet was introduced, who recited some verses invoking the return of the King. Monk viewed these demonstrations without approving them, and remained reserved and silent even at dinner; for, though he usually took delight in the pleasures of the table, he was unwilling either to hasten, or even as yet to follow, the movement which, at the same time, he did not repress.[1]

One matter alone, the army, was, in his opinion, his own affair, and constantly occupied his attention. He alone could govern it; and he alone knew how little he did govern it. He had no longer to deal with his small Scottish army, laborious, well-disciplined, and always in action or on the march; he had the entire army of England under his command, and nearly all of it was massed together, without occupation, in London and the neighbouring counties; the old spirit of independence and would-be domination still prevailed among its ranks; it looked towards the future with anxiety; the prospect of monarchy irritated it; the authority of Parliament offended it; it still wished to establish its own empire under the name of a Commonwealth. Several regiments were still commanded by ardent Republicans, such as Okey, Rich, Alured, and Walton, who zealously fomented the suspicions and ill-humour of their soldiers. Monk deprived them of their commands, and put in their places officers who were devoted either to his person or to his designs; he made Philip Howard captain of his guards, and he gave regiments to Lord Carlisle, Lord Faulcon-

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 697, 698, 699; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 356; Price's Memoirs, p. 116; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 40, 45, 54, 58.

bridge, Colonel Rossiter, and the regicide Ingoldsby, who was perhaps the most trusty and the boldest of them all. But these very changes, almost as perilous as they were necessary, agitated the army instead of tranquillizing it; and Monk, though holding it with an increasingly firm hand, felt it constantly on the point of escaping from his grasp.[1]

Another power of a very different character, the Presbyterian clergy, was also the object of his particular care. He believed this body to be very influential, indeed almost paramount in the nation; and either from conviction or policy, he had long made it his endeavour to conciliate the ministers of the Presbyterian Church, by representing himself as one of their flock. "Mr. Monk," his wife used to say in Scotland, "is a Presbyterian, and my son Kit is for the Long Parliament and the good old cause." However, when the Presbyterians were triumphant, Monk had no idea of giving himself entirely into their hands; on the very evening of the day on which the secluded members had resumed their seats in the Parliament, his chaplain Price, who was devoted to the Episcopal Church, entered his room just as he was going to bed. "I found him," says the chaplain, "satisfied with what he had done, and pleasant with me. I told him I came (over and above the duty of my attendance) to give him thanks for his day's work. He answered me with great courtesy of words, 'No, no; this is none of your business; you but dissemble with me; you come now for somewhat else, and I believe I know

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 752, 753; Price's Memoirs, p. 123; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 358; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 265, 273.

for what.' I humbly asked him what he could think I came for. 'Sit down,' says he, 'and I'll tell you: you come for bishops. This can never be done, for not only their lands are sold, but the temper of the nation is against them.' I told him that as yet he could not see the temper of the nation; the royal party having judged it prudence not to appear openly, or make any addresses. But since he had mentioned it, I entreated him to grant me one request, which was, that he would not be drawn to engage against them; and this I thought he might safely grant me now, as he would not be ensnared to abjure the King and the royal family. He paused awhile, as his manner was, and taking me by the hand, 'Well then,' said he, 'so much I will promise you, that I will not be engaged against the bishops.'" Monk, in fact, entered into no formal engagement on this point; but he lived on terms of familiar intimacy with the principal Presbyterian ministers, Calamy, Reynolds, Ash, Sharp, and Manton, receiving them frequently at his house, assiduously attending their sermons, conversing with them on public affairs, making use of them as his intermediaries, and giving them reason to believe that they had great influence over his views and resolutions. "Ash, Calamy, and I," wrote Dr. Sharp to one of his friends in Scotland, "had a long conversation with the General, on the 11th of March, and convinced him a Commonwealth was impracticable, and to our sense, sent him off that sense he had hitherto maintained, and came from him as being satisfied of the necessity of dissolving this House, and calling a new Parliament."[1]

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 116-118; Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, book i. part ii.,

If these pious theologians had heard all Monk's conversations, they would have had less confidence in the success of the arguments which they used to convince him of the impracticability of a Commonwealth; whenever one of the Republican leaders, especially if he were an officer of the army, requested him to explain his views, he persisted in declaring himself a Republican; and such was always his extreme reserve in regard to his future intentions, that, as he could not find among his ordinary agents any one to whom he would be willing fully to unbosom himself when occasion required, he sent into Devon for one of his relations, Mr. William Morrice, in order to make him his sole confidant, when it should become necessary to take some one into his secret councils. Morrice had for a long while been entrusted with the management of his private affairs, but he was a complete stranger to all that had hitherto occurred around the General, and had no connexions which could involve him in any indiscretion or embarrassment. He was moreover a sensible, prudent, well-informed man, a ready writer, a Presbyterian in his opinions, and one who, naturally resuming his seat in the House as one of the secluded members, could do his patron good service in that assembly, without exciting any suspicion.[1]

Relying on the avarice of Monk, the Republicans laid a snare for him. A proposition was made in the House,[2]

p. 214; Hallam's Constitutional History of England, vol. i. p. 706, *note*.

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 752; Price's Memoirs, p. 119; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 268; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 441–443.

[2] On the 25th and 27th of February, and on the 15th and 16th of March, 1660.

that the palace of Hampton Court and its dependencies should be presented to him. This was to enrich him at the expense of the Crown, and to range him, by gift, among the possessors of royal domains. The proposition was favourably received at first, some warmly supporting it, others not daring to oppose it. But Monk was as free from vanity as he was greedy of wealth; when the final division came on, his friends intimated that the proposal was distasteful to him; it was accordingly dropped, and instead of the palace, a present of twenty thousand pounds was voted to him; of which sum, notwithstanding the distress of the public treasury, thirteen thousand pounds were almost immediately paid to him. Thus his avidity and his policy were alike satisfied.[1]

There is no falsehood so gross, and no contradiction so palpable, but contemporaries will easily allow themselves to be deceived by it: for events and men are clear only when seen from a distance, and time present is full of uncertainty and darkness to those who live in it. Notwithstanding the rays of light shed on him from day to day, Monk remained obscure and incomprehensible to the majority of beholders. The Royalists especially, who had so much to expect from him, were in despair at not being able to rely with security upon him. "Monk's proceedings turn our heads," wrote Hyde;[2] "I know not what to think of him. It is not possible that Pierrepoint and St. John would be so impertinently violent against the King, if they believed that Monk would ever

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 852, 855, 868, 877, 879; Baker's Chronicle, p. 655; Price's Memoirs, pp. 127, 128; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 701, 704.

[2] On the 11th and 17th of March, 1660.

be wrought over to him; on the other side, why Neville, Harrington, and that gang should absent themselves, if they thought a Republic would be settled, I cannot imagine. . . . If you know anything of Monk that would compose us, you are unkind in not imparting it to us." "All I can say of Monk," wrote Barwick to the King,[1] "is that no means are left unattempted which come within the power of my friend. About the beginning of this week, he pressed him with all the arguments he could, both from necessity, honour and interest; and he put him to such a stand with them that he only replied he would consider of it, and tell more of his mind hereafter. And again on Wednesday, upon occasion of the Remonstrance, he declared himself to my friend that he would acquiesce in the judgment of the Parliament, both in relation to your Majesty and the House of Lords; and yet yesterday he told him, in a great passion, he would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England; though I hear from other hands, he was in good temper again the same night." The public knew even less than Hyde's correspondents, and fluctuated with all these fluctuations; everything seemed in turn possible and probable. "Who will be king—Charles, George, or Richard?" was the question openly discussed in all societies, and differently resolved according to the circumstances of the time or the predilections of the persons; for each of the three competitors had partisans who believed or hoped he had a chance, and did their best to secure his success.[2]

[1] On the 10th of March, 1660.

[2] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 698, 701, 697; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. p. 310; Pepys' Diary, vol. i. pp. 37-41.

The Republicans alone were rapidly losing all hope, and many of them were unwilling to resign themselves quietly to their fate. At a distance from London, Overton, who was governor of the fortress of Hull, in Yorkshire, was anxious to resist. In concert with some officers of his garrison, he wrote to several of his old companions in arms,[1] among others, with unaccountable confidence, to Colonel Fairfax, a nephew of Lord Fairfax and Governor of York. In his letter, he denounced the visible progress that was being made by Charles Stuart, reminded his friends of the oaths they had sworn to defend the good old cause and the blood they had shed in its service, and called upon them to combine to oppose with their utmost energy every design that might lead to the overthrow of their civil and religious liberties. Being informed that this letter was circulating in numerous regiments, Monk at once sent orders to Overton, in dry and authoritative terms, to come without delay to London to explain his conduct, and to justify himself for having attempted to excite division in the army and disturbance in the State. "Within six hours after this comes to you," he wrote, "I desire that you signify to Colonel Fairfax your compliance herein, and the day whereon you intend to begin your journey hither. I have written to Colonel Fairfax more particularly concerning the peace and safety of the northern parts and of the garrison of Hull: and if he communicates any orders from me to you, I expect your obedience to them." Colonel Fairfax had instructions to proceed immediately to Hull, and to take the command of the place on Overton's

[1] On the 28th of February, 1660.

departure. He executed his commission with prompt firmness; Overton modestly submitted; Admiral Lawson, on whose support he had thought he might rely, declared himself on the contrary determined to obey the Parliament and the General; and this attempt of an old soldier to do something in favour of the Commonwealth was repressed in a few hours by his own comrades. A similar effort had been planned in London by a few officers and those Republican leaders who had withdrawn from the House,—Haslerig, Scott, and Henry Martyn; they re-appeared suddenly in their places with all their friends, in the hope that they would be able to carry a resolution against the King and the House of Lords; but they failed completely, and the debate, which was vigorously maintained against them by the Presbyterians, had no other result than to induce Mr. Stephens, a blind old man, to say openly: "There is but one way to save these dying kingdoms, and that is, to recall the King."[1]

In imitation of Monk's conduct towards his officers, the House determined not to leave this tendency to parliamentary insurrection unpunished. Haslerig and Rich, on being required to explain certain suspicious circumstances, denied them with such evident embarrassment that the Council of State was ordered to institute an inquiry into their conduct in the matter. Lambert, when summoned before the Council, denied in like manner the charges brought against him; he had recently requested, without success and probably without any desire to suc-

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 753, 754; Price's Memoirs, pp. 124–126; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 362, 363; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 266; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 698; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 40, 41.

ceed, permission to enter the service of Sweden; he now, in order to remain in the neighbourhood of London, applied for leave to reside in his house at Wimbledon; as a condition before granting this request, he was required to give surety to the amount of twenty thousand pounds; he remonstrated on the ground of the enormity of the sum, declaring that his means were insufficient to supply it; the House however approved of the requirement of the Council of State, and Lambert was sent to the Tower. One of Cromwell's former chaplains, Dr. Owen, who had been concerned in the same intrigues, was deprived of the deanery of Christchurch at Oxford, and Dr. Reynolds was appointed in his stead.[1] The Presbyterians were resolved to destroy the influence of their enemies in every quarter; and the Republicans were in vain indignant at finding themselves so powerless against their old rivals, over whom they had so long been victorious.[2]

They were soon to be reduced to a still lower depth of impotence; that Long Parliament which had constituted their strength, and in which their fortune had been achieved, was still in existence; they still sate in that hall from which they had been twice expelled, but to which they had twice returned victorious; though they were now vanquished, they still enjoyed the right of presence and action, or at least of speech, in regard to the affairs of the country. The moment drew near when they were to lose these last surviving remnants of their

[1] See the votes of the 1st, 6th, and 13th of March, 1660.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 846, 857, 864, 866, 878; Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 697, 698; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 42; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 695.

greatness, and to fall from dominion into nullity; and probably into proscription. The dissolution of the Long Parliament, which had been established as a principle on the readmission of the secluded members, was certain and near at hand; bills were in preparation for fixing the precise period at which it was to take place, and for regulating the elections to the new Parliament, which was to meet on the 25th of April.[1] Free and general elections imported the ruin of the Republicans; they had known it for a long time, and had done everything in their power, had sacrificed everything, even their political probity, to escape from this fatal trial; it was now inevitable and imminent; the 16th of March had already been fixed as the day on which the existence of the Long Parliament was to terminate. The Republicans therefore knew the precise epoch at which they would disappear from the great scene of their reign.[2]

While in this cruel state of expectation, they were supplied for a moment, by their enemies, with some chance, if not of preservation, at least of respite.

"If the King must come in," said Prynne, "it is safest for those who made war against his father that he should come in by their votes." Most of the Presbyterians were of this opinion; as the first leaders of the Revolution, and as sincere friends of the public liberties, both for themselves and for their country, they required guarantees; why should they leave to another Parliament

[1] See the Debates of the 24th, 27th, and 29th of February, and the 1st, 8th, 13th, and 16th of March, 1660.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 848, 852, 855, 856, 857, 868, 873, 875, 876, 880.

the duty of demanding them, and of securing to themselves a right to the King's gratitude as well as to his promises? "That the next Parliament will restore the King," said Sir Harbottle Grimstone one day, "no one can doubt. This is so true and so well understood, that we all believe that, whatsoever our thoughts are, this will be the opinion of the succeeding Parliament, whose concerns as well as affections will make them active for his introduction. I appeal then to your own judgments whether it is likely that those persons, as to their particular interest more unconcerned, and probably less knowing in the affairs of the nation, can or would obtain for any those terms or articles which we are yet in a capacity to procure both for them and ourselves. . . . If we bring not in the King, he either already is, or shortly may be, in a capacity of coming in unsent for. We are already, and but justly, reported to have been the occasion of our Prince's banishment; we may then, with reason and equal truth, for ought I know, be thought to have been the contrivers of it, unless we endeavour the contrary by not suffering the mischief to continue longer, which it is in our power to remove. I must confess sincerely, that it would be as strange to me as a miracle, did I not know that God infatuates whom he designs to destroy, that we can see the King's return as unavoidable, and yet be no more studious of serving him, or at least ourselves, in the managing of his recall." And, in order to win the support of Monk to his views, he added: "The General, that noble personage to whom, under God, we do and must owe all the advantages of our past and future changes, will be as far from opposing us in the design,

as the design is removed from the disadvantage of the nation."[1]

Grimstone presumed too much both on the virtue of Monk and on the strength of the Long Parliament. The Presbyterians, on resuming their seats in that assembly, had not restored to it the esteem and authority which it had lost by its errors and reverses; it was still that worn-out and discredited Rump which had lately been subjected to the insults of the army and the populace; and though parties might still make it their instrument for a few days, it was no longer in its power to accomplish great designs by its own free will; England expected nothing further from it, and imperiously required it to retire and give place to younger and more unknown powers. This public desire burst forth on all sides; the Royalists, sure that they would take their position in the new Parliament, cordially concurred in it; and Monk had no idea of opposing it. He cared little for the guarantees of those liberties in which he put no faith, and for which he felt no love; the restoration of the monarchy was, in his opinion, the probable issue of events, and at the same time the only means of consolidating his own fortune by restoring tranquillity to his country. If the co-operation of the Long Parliament could have led him to the more easy attainment of this object, he would probably have accepted it; but he was well acquainted with the pretensions and dissensions of that shattered assembly, and considered it too difficult to govern to

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 132; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 317, 318; Hallam's Constitutional History of England, vol. i. p. 703, *note*.

believe it fitted to restore a government. If it could have succeeded in so doing, the merit would have belonged to it and not to Monk; and his soul was not sufficiently elevated to impose on itself additional efforts and dangers, from a pure spirit of patriotism, and in order to secure a success which would not have been his own. Like the Royalists, and like the public at large, although more discreetly, he urged forward the dissolution of the Parliament; the intimidated Presbyterians gave up the idea of anticipating him by recalling the King at once; it was decided that, on the 16th of March, the Long Parliament should pronounce its own dissolution by issuing the necessary writs for the election of a new Parliament; and on the 13th of March, by a sudden and unexpected resolution, that assembly, though still Republican in name, ordained that the oath which had until then been insisted upon: "I do declare and promise that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a King or House of Lords,"—should be abolished and expunged from the Journals.[1]

On learning this resolution, the Republican leaders were filled with consternation. After having concerted their plans with their friends in the army, they repaired to Whitehall, and requested to see Monk, who had come there to attend a meeting of the Council of State. He received them in a room adjoining the Council-chamber. "General," said Haslerig to him, "many of your friends are much troubled at the Parliament's actions, which tend both to the ruin of yourself and all the good people

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 857, 872; Price's Memoirs, p. 131.

of the nation; since it is evident that, by what they voted yesterday, nothing is intended but the restitution of the King. Your overthrow must succeed his admission; for a merit too great to be rewarded can have no recompense but death. Of this frequent examples are to be found in all history, and in none more frequent than our own, where it is recorded that the same Stanley who placed the crown on Henry the Seventh's head, had his own head struck off upon a very frivolous pretence, when the reason was only excess of merit. We now find a Commonwealth government not agreeable with the disposition of the people, who are always bad judges of what is best for themselves; and therefore, since a single person is necessary, there could not be one fitter than yourself for the office: in which opinion we have very good grounds to believe all the good people of the nation will concur with us." Monk calmly replied: "I myself was not well pleased at the late unnecessary vote of Parliament concerning the engagement; but many of the most discreet members have been with me, and have satisfied me that they had no design in it but to keep themselves free against the next Parliament; for, as the final determination of the Government is referred to that body, they were unwilling to anticipate their counsels by determining it by that engagement, which would be too great a snare unto them. As for the government in my own person, the experience of Cromwell's fate gives me reason to avoid the rock on which that family split." "But Oliver Cromwell," urged Haslerig, "usurped the dominion against the suffrage of the army and the consent of all the good people of England; whereas you

shall have it by their unanimous consent, and under what name and title you please to accept it. We will give you at once four thousand signatures." Monk thanked them, but persisted in his refusal, and taking leave of them, passed into the chamber in which the Council of State was assembled. He found that body in a state of considerable agitation. Clarges, who had been informed beforehand of the plan agreed on by the Republicans, had communicated it to Ashley Cooper, who had lost no time in bringing it to the knowledge of the Council. He demanded that the Ushers should be directed to withdraw, that Clarges should be summoned to give a detailed account of the "indecent overtures made to the General," and that the measures necessary for preventing any such danger, especially as far as the army was concerned, should be adopted without delay. So much publicity was distasteful to Monk, who wished to attain his object without any new and open conflict; he assured the Council that there was no ground for alarm, that certain persons had indeed come to him to express their anxiety on account of recent proceedings in the Parliament, but that he had explained matters to them, and sent them away fully satisfied. As far as the army was concerned, he would make such changes among the officers as should remove all cause for apprehension on that score.[1]

He was now exposed to embarrassments of an opposite character; scarcely had he refused to be King, when

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 755, 756; Wingrove Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. i. pp. 232–237; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 471.

he was called upon absolutely to abjure kingship. A number of officers, with Colonel Okey at their head, presented themselves before him with a Declaration which they had succeeded in getting signed by a great many of their comrades, and by which they bound themselves to reject and oppose all government by a single person, whoever that single person might be. They requested the General to sign this engagement in his turn, and to procure its adoption by the Parliament. Monk was perplexed, not wishing, now that he was so near the issue, either to discover, or officially to deny, his intention. Clarges and Clarke, who were present, suggested that the signature should be postponed to the following day, and that the question should then be discussed in a general council of officers, specially convoked for the purpose. Monk had many means of action in such an assembly; his partisans had timely notice, and did not fail to attend; he had appointed his confidant Morrice Governor of Plymouth, in order that he might have a seat in the Council; and Clarges, in his capacity of Commissary-General of the Musters, had great influence in that body. The discussion was long and stormy; but Okey and his friends were not skilful debaters; Clarges and Morrice raised difficulties to which their adversaries knew not how to reply. All were embarrassed; at length Monk said a few words: "The time of this Parliament's ending is so near, it cannot do the ills which some of you, I hope causelessly, fear. In the next Parliament, I doubt not you will receive better satisfaction. Nothing, however, is more injurious to discipline than your meeting in military councils to interpose in civil affairs." He pro-

hibited their assembling in future, and the officers separated without insisting on their Declaration.[1]

Amid these unworthy agitations of his expiring party, a solitary Republican, John Milton, blind but unshaken in his principles, gave utterance, with eloquent sadness, to his strong convictions and useless counsels. A few months before, when Lambert and the army expelled the Parliament, he had deplored that act of violence in a "Letter to a Friend, concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth." Profoundly discouraged, he raised his voice with hesitation: "God and the public," he said, "require no more of me than my prayers for them that govern." Nevertheless, in his despondency, his faith and earnestness remained the same, and in continuing to express his feelings on public affairs, he found that hopeless consolation which is the last melancholy pleasure of great hearts, broken but faithful. It was the opinion of Milton that two things only were of importance to England,—liberty of conscience, and no monarchy; that to secure these objects should be the purpose and law of the recalled Long Parliament, or of a Council of State appointed for life, and composed chiefly of members of the Long Parliament; and that the army and the civil power should bind themselves, by a common oath, to lend each other mutual support, and to maintain each other in permanence, merely filling up the vacancies which death might occasion in their ranks: on these terms the Commonwealth and the country might be saved. Such was the dream of Milton. When he saw the Long Parliament

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 756; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 856, 857; Price's Memoirs, pp. 128–130; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 42, 43.

restored by the army itself, some hope of success for his idea revived, and in a new pamphlet entitled, 'The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth,' he developed his views with complacent enthusiasm. "Athough it may seem strange," he said, "by reason that men's minds are prepossessed with the notion of successive Parliaments, I affirm that the Grand or General Council of the Nation, being well chosen, should be perpetual, for so their business is, or may be, and oftimes urgent; the opportunity of affairs gained or lost in a moment. The day of Council cannot be set as the day of a festival; but must be ready always to prevent or answer all occasions. By this continuance, they will become everyway skilfullest, best provided of intelligence from abroad, best acquainted with the people at home, and the people with them. The ship of the Commonwealth is always under sail; they sit at the stern, and if they steer well, what need is there to change them? Add to this, that the Great Council is both foundation and main pillar of the State; and to move pillars and foundations, not faulty, cannot be safe for the building. I see not therefore how we can be advantaged by successive and transitory Parliaments; they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather than to settle a free government, to breed commotions, changes, novelties, and uncertainties, to bring neglect upon present affairs and opportunities, while all minds are suspense with expectation of a new assembly, and the assembly is for a good space taken up with the new settling of itself. . . . If the ambition of such as think themselves injured that they also partake not of the government, and are im-

patient till they be chosen, cannot brook the perpetuity of others chosen before them; or if it be feared that long continuance of power may corrupt sincerest men, the known expedient is, and by some lately propounded, that annually (or if the space be longer, so much perhaps the better), the third part of Senators may go out according to the precedence of their election, and the like number be chosen in their place; and this they call *partial rotation*. But I could wish that this wheel or partial wheel in State, if it be possible, might be avoided, as having too much affinity with the wheel of fortune. . . . Neither do I think a perpetual Senate, especially chosen and entrusted by the people, much in this land to be feared, where the well-affected, either in a standing army, or in a settled militia, have their arms in their own hands."[1]

Milton had scarcely published this pamphlet, before the scene had changed; far from becoming perpetual, the Long Parliament had only a few days more to live; the elections were drawing near; Monk was in the ascendant. Milton issued a new edition of his work, with a prefatory letter to the General, beseeching him to consolidate the threatened Commonwealth, by adopting his plan. "Your Excellency," he wrote, "has only once more to declare publicly this to be your mind, and you have a faithful veteran army ready and glad to assist you in the prosecution thereof. The rest, when they shall see the beginnings and proceedings of these proposed constitutions, and the orderly, the decent, the civil, the safe, the noble effects thereof, will be soon convinced, and by degrees

[1] Milton's Prose Works, vol. iii. pp. 400, 420–454. (Pickering's Edition.)

come in of their own accord to be partakers of so happy a government.[1]

Monk assuredly paid no attention to the counsels and wishes of the Republican poet; but history owes them greater consideration; for it is the first privilege of genius that all remembrances of it should be respectfully preserved, and that a place should be given, even to its dreams, in the annals of the age on which it shed its lustre.

The day now drew near when the Parliament was at length to pronounce its own dissolution. On the evening of the 15th of March, a number of persons, citizens and people, were assembled in front of the Royal Exchange; at about five o'clock, a man came up with a ladder, a pot of paint, and a brush; he was accompanied by some soldiers, as though he had come by the order or with the consent of the General. He rested his ladder against a wall, in a niche of which, twenty years before, a statue of Charles I. had stood; but after the King's execution, the statue had been pulled down, and the following inscription in Latin written in its place: *Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus, anno libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, annoque Domini* 1648. The painter went up, effaced this inscription with his brush, and, throwing his cap in the air, shouted, "God bless King Charles the Second!" His proceedings were hailed by the crowd with loud acclamations; and bonfires were immediately kindled in the courtyard of the Exchange, and in the neighbouring streets.[2]

[1] Milton's Prose Works, vol. iii. pp. 445–457.

[2] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 725; Thurloe's State Papers,

On the next day, the 16th of March, the Parliament met; the question arose, in whose name should the writs be issued, ordaining the election and assembly of the the new Parliament, which was to meet on the 25th of April. "In King Charles's," said Prynne; "after the death of the King his father, this Parliament was in law dissolved; King Charles II. alone can summon another." This legal question was overruled, and it was decided that the writs should issue, under the authority of the Republican Government, in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England. The instructions which were to be given to the Council of State, which was to carry on the administration of affairs in the interval between the two Parliaments, were then discussed; one of the articles conferred on it the power to send ambassadors or agents to foreign Princes. Scott rose, and demanded that an exception should be made to the exercise of this power, and that the Council should be debarred from sending any agent to Charles Stuart. This proposition excited a great tumult in the House. "I demand in my turn," said Mr. Crewe, a zealous Presbyterian, "that, before we dissolve ourselves, we should bear our witness against the horrid murder of the King, and protest that we had neither hand nor heart in that affair." Numerous voices were raised in support of this suggestion, some speaking, like Mr. Crewe, with sincere indignation, and others hastening, from cowardice, to denounce the deed which they had formerly approved. Scott at length succeeded in obtaining a hearing. "Although," he said, "I know not where to hide my head at this time, I dare not

vol. vii. p. 855; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 45; Bordeaux to Mazarin, March 25, 1660. See APPENDIX.

refuse to own that not only my hand but my heart also was in it; and I can desire no greater honour in this world than that this inscription should be engraved on my tomb: 'Here lieth one who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stuart, late King of England.'" Scott's voice was drowned by cries of reprobation; he left the House, accompanied by several of his friends. The Dissolution-bill was passed; and that Long Parliament which for twenty years had been the real sovereign of England, and which, in spite of all its faults, wrong-doings and reverses, was destined to occupy so large a space in the history of its country, and to exercise so powerful an influence over its after-fortune, hastened to separate amid irreverent marks of the public joy, after having voted, as a last resolution: "That Friday, the 6th day of April, 1660, be set apart for a day of public fasting and humiliation, to be solemnized throughout the nation, under the sense of the great and manifold sins and provocations thereof; and to seek the Lord for his blessing upon the Parliament now shortly to be assembled, that the Lord will make them healers of our breaches, and instruments to restore and settle peace and government in the nations, upon foundations of truth and righteousness."[1]

Three days after the dissolution, Monk granted Sir John Greenville an interview in St. James's Palace, not however in his own apartments, but in the room of his confidant Morrice, and under the seal of the strictest secrecy. Greenville had been for a long while unsuccess-

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. vii. pp. 879, 880; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 364, 365; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 312, 313; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 37, 44.

fully soliciting this favour; left in possession of that letter from the King to Monk, of which Nicholas Monk, on his journey into Scotland, had declined to be the bearer, he had sought in vain, since the General's arrival in London, for an opportunity of delivering it to him, and conversing with him on its contents. On the ground of their relationship, Greenville paid frequent visits to Monk, who received him kindly, but studiously avoided any private conversation with him. In vain did Greenville persist in remaining in the reception-room later than the other visitors; as soon as he found himself alone with him, Monk invariably dismissed him with some such phrase as, "Good-night, cousin, I have business to attend to," or "I am going to bed." When the Long Parliament was on the eve of its dissolution, Greenville applied to Morrice, who was his relation also, in order to obtain an interview with the General. Monk sent Morrice to him, and suggested that he should confide to him, as their mutual friend, whatever he might have to communicate, and that he might be sure that Morrice would faithfully report all he said to the General. Greenville obstinately refused to do this. "My commission," he said, "is to the General himself; and it is of such a nature and of so great importance that I can and will impart it to him alone. If he still persists in denying me a private hearing, I am resolved to speak to him wherever I may meet him next." Touched by so much perseverance and discretion combined, and thinking moreover that the proper moment had arrived, Monk, as soon as the Parliament had ceased to exist, sent word to Greenville that he would receive him on the next day.[1]

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 133-135; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 275-

On the evening of the 19th of March, Greenville proceeded to St. James's, to the apartments of Morrice, whom he found alone. Monk came in shortly afterwards, by a private staircase. Morrice left them, and posted himself at the door. As soon as they were alone: "I am infinitely obliged to your Excellency," said Greenville, "for giving me this opportunity of discharging myself of a trust of great importance both to yourself, and to the whole kingdom, which has long been deposited in my hands. Whatsoever may become of me, I think myself very happy to have this good occasion of performing my duty in obeying the commands of the King my master." He then presented to Monk the King's letter, together with his own commission authorizing him to deliver it. Monk stepped back, and with great gravity holding the letter in his hand without opening it, asked Greenville how he dared to speak to him on such a matter, and whether he had fully considered the danger he ran in so doing. "I duly considered this matter long ago," answered Sir John, "with all the danger that might attend it: and nothing would deter me from the performance of my duty in this and other particulars, at his Majesty's command. But I was the more encouraged to undertake this business, in regard your Excellency cannot but remember the message you received in Scotland by your brother." Without making any reply, and changing his manner altogether, Monk took Greenville by the hand, and embraced him affectionately. "Dear Cousin," he then said, "I thank you with all my heart for the prudence, fidelity, care, and constancy you have shown in

278; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 266–274; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 757–759; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 443–446.

this great affair, and I am much pleased also at your resolute secrecy in it; for could I have understood that you had revealed it to any man living, since you first trusted my brother with it, I would never have treated with you: which now I shall do most willingly, and with you the rather, because you are one of my nearest kinsmen, and of a family to which I owe many obligations." Monk then opened the King's letter, and after having read it, "I hope," he said, "the King will forgive what is past, both in my words and actions, according to the contents of his gracious letter; for my heart was ever faithful to him, but I was never in a condition to do him service till now; and you shall assure his Majesty that I am now not only ready to obey his commands, but to sacrifice my life and fortune in his service. To witness this, I call this honest man from the door;" and he called Morrice into the room. They conversed together for some minutes, Monk insisting on the great difficulties and dangers which yet stood in their way, and pointing out what in his opinion the King ought to do to surmount them. Greenville requested him to put what he had said into writing, and to send it to the King by a messenger of his own. "No," replied Monk, "secrecy is the best security: if my letter should be intercepted before I have completed reforming the army, it would be impossible for me to keep it in temper, or hinder the subversion of all I have hitherto done. I am unwilling by indiscretion to venture a relapse. You shall be my messenger; without letters, the King would have no reason to give credit to a messenger from me; but he may well believe his own envoy. In concert with Mr.

Morrice, write down the substance of our discourse, that it may serve for your instructions; and come here to-morrow evening, that we may read them together." Monk then withdrew, in haste to put an end to an interview which his attendants might have remarked.

Greenville returned the next evening; his instructions were ready prepared; Monk promised the King his active and devoted service, and advised him, first, to grant a general amnesty, from which four persons at most should be excepted; secondly, to ratify and confirm in their acquisitions the possessors of confiscated property, whether they had obtained it by gift or purchase; thirdly, to secure liberty of conscience to all his subjects; and fourthly, to remove out of Flanders and the whole Spanish territory, and to take up his residence at Breda, no less for his own safety than for the satisfaction of his friends in England, who placed no confidence in the intentions of Spain towards him. When he had diligently perused and commented upon these instructions, Monk asked Greenville if he was quite sure not to forget any part of them, and on receiving an answer in the affirmative, he threw the paper into the fire, charging him not to commit them again to writing till he came to Brussels, where the King then was, and there to communicate them to none but his Majesty.

Before he withdrew, Greenville told the General that the King had authorized him to offer to him, for himself and his officers, an annual sum of one hundred thousand pounds to be paid to them for ever, together with the office of Lord High Constable of England for himself, and the right of appointing any one of his friends to

some other great office under the Crown. But Monk, notwithstanding his avarice, had too much sense not to be aware that a man who is paid in advance loses his value. "No," he said; "there is sufficient reward in the conscience and satisfaction of serving my Prince and obliging my country. I will not sell my duty, nor bargain for my allegiance; so that for any regards towards me, I am wholly resolved to trust to the good pleasure of his Majesty."[1]

Greenville set out that same evening for Dover, where he met Mordaunt, who was also on his way to Flanders to confer with the King about the state of his affairs. They crossed over to Ostend together, and though they were intimate friends, Greenville said not a word to Mordaunt about the object of his journey. On reaching Brussels, where he took up his abode in an obscure lodging, Greenville sent at once to inform the King of his arrival, and Charles, as soon as night had fallen, proceeded alone to his house, and received the news which he brought with the liveliest satisfaction. But how could the absolute secrecy which Monk required be preserved? A general amnesty, the confirmation of all sales and gifts of Crown and Church property, and liberty of conscience, were all questions of too grave and doubtful a character for the King to decide them on his own responsibility; he therefore resolved to take the opinion of his three most trusted advisers, Hyde, Ormonde, and Secretary Nicholas, to whom Greenville should repeat all that he

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 135–137; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 269–276; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 757–759; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 275–278.

had first announced to the King. The meeting took place in Hyde's apartment, at night, in the greatest secrecy; and the little council, overjoyed by Monk's promises, but slightly embarrassed by some of his stipulations, resolved that, in a few days, without any previous intimation to any one, the King should leave Brussels and proceed to Breda, where his answers to Monk's proposals, and the various documents they would render necessary, should be prepared; and that Greenville should be sent back to London with them, and with such verbal declarations as it might be thought proper to add.[1]

A few days afterwards, while Greenville was still with the King, other messengers arrived at Brussels from London, bearing propositions of a very different character. They came, on behalf of the Presbyterian leaders, to offer to re-establish the King on his throne, provided he would accept the constitution which the Long Parliament had, in 1647, when the Presbyterians were in the ascendant, proposed to his father, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight. This constitution involved the surrender of the command of the forces by land and sea to the Parliament for twenty years; the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the war waged against Charles I.; the annulling of the letters patent of nobility which he had granted after his departure from London; and the concession to the two Houses of the right to adjourn to such time and place as they might think fit. Strange propositions, truly, for the re-establishment of monarchy! Yet their authors were sincere in their intention, and honestly devoted to

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 137; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 274–278; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 446–454.

the patriotic design of reconciling royalty with the old laws and progressive liberties of their country. But the day for this great reconciliation was not yet come; the men who were trying to effect it were the same men who, during many years, had been carrying on the revolution and the civil war; the habits of mind and party interests which they had contracted during this conflict still swayed them; they had destroyed the monarchy without intending it; their reverses had taught them its necessity without teaching them the conditions of its existence; and while labouring zealously to restore it, they endeavoured to load it with the very fetters, and to inflict on it the very blows, beneath which it had already succumbed. Some among them, Lord Manchester, Hollis, Pierrepoint, Annesley, and Grimstone, were not altogether blind to the inherent faultiness of their attempt, and had some clearer perception of the power which must be left to the Crown, in order that the government may be stable and regular, and the country free; but their wisdom was rather the fruit of weariness than of any great political genius, and as they were unable to make their party either understand or adopt their views, they continued, in spite of their doubts, to act according to the prejudices and passions of those with whom they were allied. On sending their propositions to Brussels, they intimated to the King that they were the most favourable he could expect, so powerful was the spirit of distrust and opposition still among the people: they added that they had found it very difficult to dissuade Monk from imposing further conditions; and they conjured the King to accept these terms without delay, for fear lest, by refusing them,

he should let slip his only chance of recovering his Crown.[1]

They had some right to hold this language; at several of their meetings, among others, one day at the house of the Earl of Northumberland, Monk had sided with the most inflexible, declaring that the conditions proposed to the late King in the Isle of Wight were the least that could be affixed to the restoration of his son, and suggesting the belief, at one time that he was influenced by the most fanatical of the Presbyterian ministers, and at another time that he was humouring the Republicans, and had no desire to quarrel irrevocably with them.[2]

Charles showed to Greenville the letter of the Presbyterian leaders, and the propositions which it contained. "Little do they in England think," he said, "that General Monk and I are upon so good terms; for I could hardly have believed it myself until your arrival, which hath brought me such happy news, and with so great secrecy too, from the General, of my restoration without conditions. It is even beyond our expectation here, or the belief of all our friends in England, excepting yourself, who alone were employed in it." Meanwhile, he evaded the demands of the Presbyterians, and answered them only in insignificant terms.[3]

But at the same time he preserved the most absolute secrecy with regard to Monk's promises. The Presby-

[1] Price's Memoirs, pp. 138–142; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 317, 318; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 705. In the eighth book of my History of Charles I. will be found a full account of the conditions proposed to the King in the Isle of Wight by the Presbyterian party, and of the negotiations to which they gave rise.

[2] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 439, 440.

[3] Price's Memoirs, p. 142.

terians continued to labour, as though they were the only hope of the monarchy. "Leave the game in our hands," said Hollis to the Cavaliers; "we alone have any chance of success." Noble motives and selfish motives, sincere patriotism and personal interest, suggested and stimulated all this ardour and confidence; they required, for themselves, the same guarantees which they judged necessary to the liberties of their country. "All the places of trust," said Lord Northumberland, "and those of judicature, must be disposed of as both Houses shall agree; and neither we nor the people can be safe with less conditions than these." The fourteen peers who had continued to sit in their House and to support the Long Parliament, until the simultaneous abolition of the peerage and of royalty, were the most firm in their adherence to this policy, and would fain have made themselves, said the Cavaliers, "a noble Rump, if they could have found out any counsellable way to effect it." In concert with the Presbyterian leaders of the House of Commons, they were unremitting in their efforts, sometimes to allure Monk into their camp, and at other times to hamper him if he attempted to act without them. Women of high rank and rare talent were concerned in these party intrigues; all were zealous and ingenious, whether Royalists or Presbyterians, or merely indifferent and seeking only their pleasure or their fortune; among them were Lady Mordaunt, Lady Bristol, Lady Willoughby, and more particularly Lady Carlisle, who ever since the beginning of the Revolution, had been allied in turn with its most conspicuous leaders and opponents. "No engagements," said Lady Carlisle, "will tie the

King; he will break all he enters into;" and yet she continued to pursue the object which she considered so unattainable. Among these great ladies, some watched Monk, others kept their eyes on Thurloe, others corresponded with Hyde or transmitted secret intelligence to the King himself, and all ardently co-operated in stimulating to renewed political activity those great noblemen who had held aloof from the Commonwealth and from Cromwell, and with whom Cromwell and the Commonwealth would have nothing to do.[1]

Another motive animated the Presbyterians; they feared and detested Hyde, who was an avowed partisan of the Episcopal Church, and who was almost as zealous for its re-establishment as for the restoration of the monarchy. Although proscribed, that Church had maintained and perpetuated itself amid all the crises of the Revolution, meeting persecution with earnest faith and baffling it with mystery; its priests celebrated its ritual in the homes of its votaries, and Cromwell's own daughters were constant attendants on its services. When sees fell vacant, the King, in exile, appointed new bishops. Hyde corresponded with them; and, as sincere a Protestant as he was a zealous monarchist, he firmly supported their creed and cause with Charles, an unbelieving libertine, and a Catholic in his maxims and his taste, although he took great care to conceal his predilection. Ever since the exiled Court had recovered some hope, Hyde had carried on his ecclesiastical correspondence

[1] Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. p. 156; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 726, 729, 730, 731, 732; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 887; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. p. 328.

with increased activity; his friend Dr. Morley travelled constantly between England and Flanders, bearing offers of conciliation to the most moderate of the Presbyterian ministers, discussing their objections, welcoming their overtures, and suggesting to them, with honest yet deceptive reserve, chances of reconciliation and promises of liberty. But the true leaders of the party were not to be thus cajoled; Hyde was always, in their eyes, an irreconcilable enemy and their most dangerous opponent; they made constant attacks on him in their communications with the King, representing him as a serious obstacle in the way of the Restoration, and even going so far as to say that the King could not return into England with him in his train.[1]

In the little court at Paris, and in the heart of the Queen-mother, Henrietta Maria, they had powerful allies. There also Hyde was detested as an avowed enemy of the Catholics, attached to the faith, laws, and manners of England, opposed to all secret and foreign influences, a faithful and constitutional adviser of the Crown, and one on whose opinion the King, and the King alone, set too high a value. The Queen-mother felt the strongest antipathy to the Presbyterians and their conditions, but when she was told that they were ready to restore the King, and that they desired, on his restoration, to expel Hyde from his councils, she was strongly tempted to embrace their offer. Lord Auboyne, an old Cavalier, growing impatient at the delays and hesitations of the Court, came to the Continent to urge an immediate reso-

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 687, 716–718, 722, 723, 724, 733, 738, 739, 744.

lution. "I take every hand to be proper," he said to Lord Jermyn, "which will do the work; and without examining what sect or profession they are, I am of opinion that, without a more sure way be visibly shown, the King should not stick to take his crown at their hands that will give it him, upon such conditions as the givers shall think fit to propose." "You are in the right," answered Lord Jermyn, "and I am exceedingly glad to find you of that opinion; but I am still afraid the King will suffer himself to be persuaded." "I know you fear the power the Lord Chancellor hath with him," said Lord Auboyne, "but can you, that have seen the King here, and are but newly come from Flanders, and doubtless have observed his carriage,—can you think that he is not master of his own affairs, and does not direct them himself?" "Ay," replied Lord Jermyn, "but when the Lord Chancellor hath him with him among his papers, and shows him this or that letter, and comments upon them, the King, who likes not to be overpressed with such knotty and intricate things, is easily wrought upon to adopt the Chancellor's resolution. But advise you with the Queen on this matter; she is yet very opposite to the propositions from London, but I hope she may be reclaimed: and lest she should think we had concurred to make this our business, go you in first, and I will follow soon after." Lord Auboyne had an interview with the Queen-mother, and notwithstanding a furious tirade against the Presbyterians, he had no great difficulty in persuading her to adopt a policy of concession. The conductors of the intrigue however wished to gain the support of a still greater authority, that of Cardinal Ma-

zarin; with this view, a meeting was arranged between Lord Auboyne and the Commandeur de Souvré, one of the Cardinal's agents, at a concert of sacred music in the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame. "News arrived this morning by an express," said the Commandeur to the Cavalier; "the Council of State in England have resolved to call in the King upon very easy terms, and that before the Parliament meets; but the counsellors now about him, and particularly the Lord Chancellor, may perhaps be excepted against, and left behind." "Doubtless," answered Lord Auboyne, "the Lord Chancellor, if his present going might bring the least prejudice upon the King, would willingly condescend to stay, knowing the King as well as he does; for whether he goes or stays, his Majesty, who believes him faithful and useful to him, is more constant than to change his affection upon such circumstances; and that being preserved, none can know better than yourself, who saw the Cardinal expelled and brought in again to rise higher, how many ways there lie open at court to compass what the Prince hath a mind to." "Undoubtedly," replied the Commandeur, "the King ought to leave behind whomever his restorers please, and should satisfy them in all things; and the Cardinal is of this opinion."[1]

But Hyde was more high-spirited than Mazarin, and served a party that was more politic than the Court of France or the Frondeurs; if he had ardent enemies, he also had warm and persevering friends, and these not merely among the old councillors of the late King, Ormonde, Southampton, Hertford, all the Anglican clergy,

[1] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 891-894.

and nearly all the honest and sensible men of the old Royalist party, but also among the most active of the younger men, Lord Mordaunt for instance, whom he had constantly defended to the King against the attacks of jealous rivals. Charles had already thought Hyde occasionally a little too inflexible and domineering; he would have been more disposed than his Chancellor to yield to the demands of the Presbyterian party; but he had full confidence in his capacity and devotedness; he regarded him as the true and skilful representative of the good Royalists of England; and besides, Hyde conducted his affairs without requiring him to labour personally. Charles firmly defended him against party animosities and Court intrigues. "It is not to be wondered at," he wrote to Sir Allen Apsley, on the 29th of April, "that at the same time that I have so many enemies, those that are faithful to me should have some; and it is from some of those who are not much my friends that the report comes that the Chancellor should have lost my favour. The truth of it is, I look upon the spreaders of that lie as more my enemies than his; for he will always be found an honest man, and I should deserve the name of a very unjust master, if I should reward him so ill that hath served me so faithfully. Therefore I do conjure you to let as many as you can of my friends know the falsehood and malice of that report, and I shall take it as a service." The animosities and intrigues did not cease; but Hyde's position was not shaken by them, and all, both friends and enemies, forcsaw in him the King's principal adviser, when he should be re-established on the throne.[1]

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 738, 739, 744, 735.

Either out of consideration for the Presbyterians, or from personal prejudice, Monk had always been, and still continued to be, adverse to him. But Monk was as prudent in his conduct towards persons as in his treatment of events, and indulged in useless animosities no more than he ran into useless dangers. Hyde took some pains to conciliate his friendship by entering into communication with his confidant Morrice, who was fully aware of the importance of the Chancellor, and willingly employed his good offices with the General on his behalf. Besides, since he had entered into engagements with the King, Monk felt that his position had become more delicate as well as more important, and he studiously endeavoured to avoid every question, every association, every step, every word, that could probably increase its difficulties. The rage of the Republicans and of Lambert's partisans led his friends to entertain apprehensions for his personal safety: "Nothing can prejudice your Majesty at this time," wrote Mordaunt to the King, on the 24th of March, "but some attempt on the Council of State, or upon Monk." Mrs. Monk, one day, believed that her husband had been poisoned. The Common Council, in alarm, invited Monk and the Council of State to take up their residence in the City, where the whole people would guard them. Monk declined, either because he did not believe, or did not wish to appear to believe, that he was in any danger. He took however careful precautions to secure his own position, and to weaken his enemies. The Council of State ordered the arrest of the most turbulent of the Republican Sectaries, among others, of old Major-General Harrison and Colonel

Miller, the very officer of Monk's guard who had recently escorted the secluded members back to the House. But Monk directed that he should be immediately set at liberty, on giving his promise to remain quiet. Haslerig, Desborough, Kelsey, Scott, Barebone, and several others equally seriously compromised, entered into a similar engagement; and Monk induced the Council of State to decide that, on these terms, they should not be molested. Haslerig expressed to him considerable anxiety as to his future safety: "I will secure your head for twopence," answered Monk. At the same time, he kept very strict watch over the inclinations of the army; the Sectaries were unceasing in their intrigues to induce it to revolt; they invited the soldiers to their houses, excited their apprehensions as to their future fate, and distributed pamphlets among them, among others, a pretended letter from Brussels, in which the Royalists promised themselves soon to repair all their losses and to avenge all their injuries. A report was spread among the Republicans that Lambert was about to be set at liberty, and they mutually stimulated one another to attempt a great insurrection under his command, as soon as he should be at large. Lambert however was detained in the Tower; Monk again made many changes among his officers, and procured from those on whom he could rely, an address in which they pledged themselves, without any reservation, to obey the orders of the General, of the Council of State, and of the new Parliament, and to abstain from all meetings and all military deliberations on civil affairs. Twelve regiments were in garrison in London; nearly all their officers signed this address, and

Colonel Charles Howard, accompanied by forty of his comrades, came solemnly to present it to Monk, at St. James's Palace. Several among them would have preferred that Monk, without waiting for the concurrence of the Parliament, and with the help of the army alone, should have effected the restoration of the King, and they formally proposed to him to do so. But Monk would not listen to this suggestion of military pride and egotism; for he was fully determined to shelter himself under the authority of the Parliament, and was quite convinced that, by so doing, he would lose nothing, as far as his own interests were concerned. The Royalists watched all these agitations with suppressed passion; though gradually gaining confidence, they were still frequently in some disquietude even with regard to Monk, who remained cold and silent as ever, and paid no heed to their doubts or apprehensions. Some transmitted their fears, in no measured language, to Brussels; but others hastened to reassure the King, and to express their conviction that Monk was true to them. "His frank and absolute refusal of the legislative power," wrote Mordaunt to the King,[1] "proffered him, under what title soever he should choose, by the corrupt officers of the army and all the eminent Rump-men, gives good evidence of his honesty and future resolutions." "Monk is now far from being your enemy," wrote Charles Howard to Charles II.,[2] "but he will go his own pace. . . . Meanwhile, do not entangle yourself in any foreign treaty, how specious soever, nor in any engagement to particular persons that are obnoxious to the

[1] On the 24th of March, 1660. [2] On the 28th of March, 1660.

power here; for nothing besides, in my poor opinion, can hinder the happy close of your affairs."[1]

Urged by Mazarin to forward to him precise information with regard to the intentions of Monk, Bordeaux requested Clarges, with whom he was on friendly terms, to ask the General to grant him an interview, for he had some important overtures to make to him. Clarges immediately waited on the ambassador, who, taking him into his cabinet, and carefully fastening the doors, said to him without any circumlocution: "It is visible to all that the General hath some great design, and most wise men believe it is either to advance himself to the monarchy of these nations, or to restore the King. In either of these, I have the advantage of being able to do him more service than any other person; for if he should use any Englishman in so important an intrigue, and if he should not have success, his agent would be brought in evidence against him to his destruction; whereas I, as a stranger and a public minister, could not be questioned. What I propose is not only in reference to myself but to Cardinal Mazarin, who would be glad to have the honour of the General's friendship, and to assist him faithfully in all his purposes. I cannot undertake to determine whether it would be best for the General to dignify his family with the empire of these kingdoms, or to restore the King to them. They are both actions of much glory, and if the latter were as easy as the former, the honour of it would be as great. But that the Ge-

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 738, 739, 744, 702, 707, 730, 728; Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 698–700; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 860; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 759, 760; Price's Memoirs, p. 140; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 278.

neral may be confident of the Cardinal, I may assure you that Oliver Cromwell kept so strict a league with him that he did not assume the government without his privity, and was directed step by step by him in the progress of that action. And therefore if the General resolves on that course, he shall not only have the Cardinal's friendship and counsel in the attempt, but a safe retreat and honourable support in France if he fails. Or if he will admit the King, and put the manner of it into the Cardinal's hands, whatever he may desire for himself of security or honour from the Crown, the Cardinal will undertake to attain it, and in such manner that it shall rather seem to proceed from the Cardinal's advice than from the General's own particular inclination. If he agree to this, the King shall presently retreat to France, where he shall have a train provided proportionable to his greatness, that his people may with greater reverence apply themselves to him. And by this way the General may not only oblige the King of England, but the King my master also, by making him a mediator and instrument in his Restoration." Clarges replied that "the matter was too deep for him," but that he might assure the ambassador that the General did not intend to take the Government upon himself, but would submit in all things to the determination of the next Parliament. "A Parliament in England," replied Bordeaux, "is a kind of tumultuary council, so various in its debates that no certain measure can be taken from them. And therefore, by not taking the course advised, the General may be hurried by their froward proceedings into some sudden enterprise, neither safe for himself nor good for the

people; and with him, in any misfortune, all his relations will be ruined." Clarges, without entering into any discussion; promised to sound the General's inclinations; and to learn whether it would be advisable for the ambassador to make his overtures to him personally: "The only difficulty that remains," he added, "is the General's want of the French tongue." "That is no consequence," answered Bordeaux, "I have English enough to be understood, and to understand all that may be said to me."

When Clarges, after having conferred with Morrice, repeated this conversation to Monk, the General absolutely refused to have any commerce either with the ambassador or with the Cardinal; "however," he added, "that I may not appear uncivil, I will receive his visit, but on condition that he shall not propose anything to me in reference to the public affairs of the Government." When informed of this reservation, Bordeaux attempted in vain to break through it. "I visited the General on the day before yesterday," he wrote to Mazarin, on the 5th of April, "and I delivered to him the message with which your Eminence had entrusted me, without obtaining from him anything beyond general expressions of thanks, notwithstanding all the pains I took to induce him to speak more openly on your Eminence's offer of friendship, and your desire that he should put as much confidence in you as the deceased Protector had done; he would give no further explanations respecting the government of England, and again professed that it would be established only by the next Parliament."[1]

[1] Baker's Chronicle, p. 757; Price's Memoirs, p. 152; Bordeaux to Mazarin, April 5, 1659. See APPENDIX.

The conduct and language of Bordeaux had revealed the opinion and desire of the Continental powers. They were beginning to believe in the restoration of the King of England to his dominions, and all of them, with more or less ardour, endeavoured to attribute to themselves the merit, in order afterwards to reap the benefit, of this event. The Court of Madrid manifested the least eagerness, as it was the least keen-sighted and the most addicted to routine of them all; its agents in Flanders doubted the re-establishment of Charles II. more than any other persons; for many years, they had had before their eyes the spectacle of his distress, and of the impotence of his party, and they had grown accustomed to consider his misfortunes incurable. Don Alonzo de Cardeñas, during his embassy in London and after his return to Flanders, had carefully cultivated friendly relations with the Republican Sectaries or Cromwellians, who were then victorious; in that party, as he thought, the strength of the nation still resided, and from it he obtained his information. Moreover, as it was ever exclusively swayed by Catholic interests, the Court of Madrid detested the Protestant councillors of Charles II., and preferred the Revolutionaries to the Anglicans. Whenever it deemed it its duty to show some kindness to the exiled Stuarts, it addressed itself to the Duke of York; to him it offered the post of Lord High Admiral of Spain, with the title of Prince of the Sea and the command of the army then being equipped against Portugal, on condition that he should openly declare himself a Catholic. Despatches were from time to time exchanged between Brussels and Madrid with reference to the body of troops which the

King of England had applied for, in order to attempt an expedition into his kingdom. The Marquis de Carracena, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, occasionally conversed with Charles II. on this subject at Brussels, and Sir Henry Bennett talked it over with Don Louis de Haro at Madrid, but with no effectual result, and more from a respect to monarchical decency than with any far-sighted and serious design. It was quite otherwise at Paris. Mazarin, better informed, considered the speedy Restoration of King Charles to be almost certain; and as the security and grandeur of France were ever his chief care, he spared no efforts to attract the royal exile into the French territory, with the intention of assuring him of his goodwill, of rendering him useful service either in reality or in appearance, and of thus securing beforehand the continuation of that alliance with England, from which, during the Protectorate of Cromwell, he had derived such great advantage. Still greater friendliness was manifested at the Hague. To Protestant and trading Holland, peace with England was a condition of safety as well as of prosperity: the Orangists, who were naturally devoted to the Stuarts, overwhelmed Charles with assurances of their affection; the Republicans watched the progress of his fortune with lively solicitude, "for," said they, "if England will receive him in again, it concerns us not to be too late in making our peace with him; for if the devil himself rule in England, we must hold fair with him." Ormonde was sent to the Hague with a letter from the King to the Princess of Orange; John De Witt at once paid him a visit, and "assured him of his utmost readiness to serve his master;" and

when Charles removed to Breda, De Witt and Beverning reprimanded the governor of that town for not having sent to inform them of his coming, so that they might have seized the opportunity to give the King some mark of their goodwill towards him.[1]

Charles and his advisers did not attach any great importance to these tardy attentions, knowing well that it was in London, and by the hands of Englishmen, as Hyde had so often earnestly desired, that their fate would be decided. "I do assure you," he wrote, on the 27th of March, "that all that was ever yet proposed from foreign powers was so without foundation of reasonable hope that the King never gave farther ear to it than by returning them thanks for their good affections." On the other hand, from England, Scotland, and Ireland, friendly demonstrations, declarations of repentance, offers of service, and assurances of unbounded devotion, poured into Brussels, and daily became more numerous and more enthusiastic. Admiral Montague entered into direct correspondence with the King, and placed the fleet at his disposal. Lenthall, the Speaker of the lately dissolved Long Parliament, sent to Charles, by means of Lady Mordaunt, the promise of his allegiance, and counsels remarkable for their impartiality and far-sightedness. Lord Broghill expressed simultaneously, to Thurloe his fear that the King would return without conditions, and to the King his zealous readiness to do anything that might assist him to resume prompt possession of his kingdom

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 445–446, 492–496; Life of James II., vol. i. p. 381; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 876, 885, 902; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 749, 750.

and authority. Downing, who was still the minister of England at the Hague, employed Thomas Howard, a man who had been by turns an agent of the Parliamentarians and of the Royalists, to entreat the King to pardon his offences and accept his services; and as a proof of his new-born zeal, he showed Howard a confidential letter from Thurloe, pressing him, as one who was interested in his questions, to sound the King's intentions by all possible means; whether he wished to return to England in pursuance of a treaty or by force; whether his word could be relied on; and what were his character and temper. Thurloe himself ere long sent a message to the King that he was ready to serve him, and Hyde directed Greenville to inform Monk of this, and to ask him what he thought of the Secretary's assurances, and how far the King might trust him.[1]

Facile from indifference, and able when ability required neither labour nor effort, Charles received all offers with a good grace, without rancour or carelessness, writing with his own hand to the more important men, such as Montague and Morrice, and sending to the rest messages well calculated to attract them without binding himself. Among all these conversions, he earnestly desired one which he could not succeed in obtaining; on leaving Flanders, he would have been glad to establish himself immediately on English soil, and Dunkirk alone offered him that advantage. He might very appropriately have dated from thence the documents which he was having

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 714, 719, 724; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 897, 908, 911, 912; Morrice's Memoirs of Orrery; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 319–323.

prepared at Brussels,—his answer to Monk, and the other papers which Greenville was to take with him into England, and to make use of when the proper moment arrived. He sent to request Lockhart to surrender the town to him; it was stated that the garrison would make no objection, and that the soldiers had already drunk to the King's health. But Lockhart refused to give up Dunkirk to Charles as firmly as he had lately refused to place it in the hands of Mazarin, who had offered to purchase it of him at a splendid price; and Charles was obliged to rest satisfied with Breda. He did not even succeed in reaching that town without some danger; he had announced to the Marquis de Carracena that he intended to leave Brussels for a few days, as he was going to pay a visit to his sister, the Princess of Orange; and he had made arrangements to start on the following morning, when, in the middle of the night, Hyde sent precipitately to awake him. An Irishman in the service of Don Alonzo de Cardeñas had discovered that orders had been given that, on the following day, a squadron of cavalry should be in attendance at the King's house, and should accompany him wherever he went, under the pretext of doing him honour, but really to prevent him from going out of the town. The Spaniards, who were beginning to believe in the returning good fortune of the King, wished to keep him in their own hands. Charles rose in all haste, and attended only by three or four faithful servants, he left Brussels before daybreak on the 4th–14th of April, and took the road towards Breda. As soon as he had entered the Dutch territory, he found Greenville waiting for him at an appointed place, for he wished to be able to tell

Monk that he had seen his Majesty out of Flanders. Charles gave him all his despatches, dated from Breda, and on that very day; Greenville took the road to Antwerp, where he was to embark, and the King continued his journey to Breda, where he arrived that evening.[1]

He was scarcely installed in his new abode when an unexpected piece of intelligence spread alarm amid his friends. On the 9th of April, Lambert had escaped from the Tower. Letting himself out of the window of his prison by means of a rope, eight Thames watermen had received him in their boat; and after having remained concealed in the City for one or two days, he had rejoined one or two squadrons which had revolted at the same time in the name of the Commonwealth. At their head, he was marching through the counties of Warwick and Northampton, calling on all the malecontents to join him; symptoms of disaffection had manifested themselves in several regiments; and no one could as yet estimate the proportions which this movement would assume.[2]

Lambert's conduct was not a mere piece of hot-headedness on his part. The Republican leaders, Ludlow, Scott, and others, had agreed together to collect a large sum of money among their partisans, to furnish the surety which the Council of State required from Lambert, to obtain his legal liberation from the Tower by this means, and then to place themselves with him at the head of an in-

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 448–454; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 749, 750; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 880.

[2] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 699; Price's Memoirs, p. 146; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 369; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 427–429.

surrection. One of them went to Haslerig to inform him of their project, and to obtain his co-operation; but he found him a prey to the deepest despondency; and Haslerig, sitting motionless in his chair, with his head resting on both his hands, rejected every proposal that was made to him with the exclamation: "We are undone! we are undone!" Scott, happening to meet Ludlow, told him that he found most of their friends in the same despairing mood, and that, as he was himself threatened with arrest, he intended to retire into the country, and endeavour to secure his election to the next Parliament. Upon hearing this, Ludlow resolved to do the same; and when Lambert succeeded in escaping from the Tower, the Parliamentary leaders of the conspiracy were already discouraged and dispersed.[1]

The Council of State, by two successive proclamations, dated on the 9th and 21st of April, declared Lambert and his adherents to be traitors, and sent orders all over the country for their arrest. Monk, on his part, issued similar orders to all his officers, and even had some idea, when the news first arrived, of placing himself in person at the head of the troops which were to be sent in pursuit of Lambert. But, on reflection, the rebellion did not appear to him of sufficient importance to warrant such a proceeding on his part, and considering his presence in London to be far more necessary, he sent for Colonel Ingoldsby, and said to him: "In three days you must be at Northampton with your regiment. Colonel Streater is there with some of his companies; he is a person whom I can trust, and you will find him ready

[1] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 365.

to join with you. You may also take any of Colonel Rossiter's troops to your assistance, which are likewise quartered in those parts. With them you must pursue Lambert until you come up with him, and take him." "My regiment is dispersed in Norfolk and Suffolk," answered Ingoldsby; "but I will do my endeavours to get it together, and obey your orders:" and he set out immediately.[1]

Having taken these military measures, Monk sent for Greenville, who had just arrived from Flanders, and who had brought him, in addition to the official documents which they had agreed to hold in suspense, a private letter from the King. "I know not yet," he said to him, "what may come of this revolt. If Ingoldsby is beaten, and the army so goes over to Lambert that he cannot be suppressed but by a war, I am resolved to put off all disguise, declare the King's commission, own it for the authority by which I act, and call the Royal party to arms in all places through England, Scotland, and Ireland. Wherefore I shall require you to attend me, and receive orders from me for his Majesty's service. Meanwhile, here is my answer to the King's letter; your brother Bernard shall carry it, with my assurances to adhere to the King's cause against all opposition whatever." And Bernard Greenville set out at once for Breda, bearing the first letter that Monk had written to the King.[2]

Ingoldsby in the meantime had arrived at Northampton, and made arrangements with Streater for attacking Lambert immediately. Appearances were alarming; in

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 760–762; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 699; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 55.

[2] Price's Memoirs, pp. 146, 149.

some chance encounters, two squadrons of cavalry had gone over to the insurgents; one of their bands had just passed unopposed through the town of Nottingham; and the sedition was spreading among the troops quartered in Yorkshire. Monk, constant to his principle of estimating fidelity more highly than numbers, had issued orders that every corps in the army should be required to accept the engagement which had recently been signed by the officers in garrison in London, that they would yield unreserved obedience to the General, the Council of State, and the next Parliament. The emotion excited by this order was very great; in several regiments of cavalry, twenty or thirty soldiers refused compliance; some entire companies of infantry laid down their arms rather than obey; the regiments which had come from Scotland alone remained unshaken, and lost only two men. In spite of these discouraging circumstances, Ingoldsby and Streater were full of confidence; their troops were firm and eager for the fray; Lambert, on the other hand, showed visible signs of disquietude; one of his officers, Captain Haslerig, a son of Sir Arthur, having been taken prisoner by Ingoldsby's scouts, expressed his regret at having joined the insurgents, and promised, if he were restored to liberty, that he would bring over his troops to the other side. On Easter-day, the 22nd of April, being informed that Lambert was at Daventry, Ingoldsby and Streater marched against him; they came up with him on an open plain, and halted at a short distance. The two armies were separated by a small stream of water, and remained for four hours in presence of one another, without striking a blow, for neither party was willing to begin

the attack. A parley was proposed: Lambert made overtures of accommodation, and suggested that they should combine to restore Richard Cromwell to the Protectorate. "No," replied Ingoldsby, "you yourself were one of those who pulled down Richard, and would you now set him up again? I have no commission to dispute, but to reduce you and your party." One of Lambert's squadrons approached the enemy's lines; Ingoldsby advanced alone to meet them, and entered into conversation with them, chiding them in a friendly manner for their madness in entering into conflict with the General, the army, the Council of State, the City, and the next Parliament. It was Captain Haslerig's troop, led, not by him, but by a quarter-master; and it came over in a body to Ingoldsby, only stipulating that it should not be required to fight against its comrades. Another troop soon followed its example. "Let us make an end of this," said Colonel Streater to Ingoldsby; "if your cavalry are routed, rally with what speed you can, for you may be confident you will find the foot able to maintain their ground." Both horse and foot now advanced with drums beating, and with orders not to fire until they were close to the enemy. On their approach, Lambert's cavalry flung down their pistols; one only of the troopers fired at Ingoldsby, and missed him. Ingoldsby rode his horse up to Lambert, and said: "You are my prisoner!" "Let him escape!" exclaimed the officers who surrounded him, Okey, Axtell, Creed, Cobbett, and other old soldiers of the civil war, who now were timid from unwillingness to renew the conflict against their old companions in arms. "I cannot do it," answered Ingoldsby: "I will not be

treacherous to those from whom I hold my command." Lambert set spurs to his horse, and tried to escape; but Ingoldsby, who was better mounted, dashed after him, and soon came up with him. Lambert surrendered, vanquished beyond all hope of recovery, and humiliated still more deeply. Several of his companions were taken; the others made their escape. Ingoldsby returned to Northampton with his prisoner; and the people, who love a conqueror when they have no private reasons for detesting him, welcomed him with loud acclamations. "This puts me in mind," said Lambert to him, "of what Cromwell said to us both, near this very place, in the year 1650, when we, with a body of officers, were going down after the army that was marching into Scotland, the people all the while shouting and wishing us success. I said to Cromwell, I was glad to see we had the nation on our side. He answered, 'Do not trust to that; for these very persons would shout as much if you and I were going to be hanged.' I now look upon myself as in a fair way to that, and begin to think Cromwell was a prophet." Two days after, he found himself still more near to this danger; he was brought into London on the 24th of April, at the moment when Monk and the Lord Mayor were passing the City trainbands in review in Hyde Park; the populace compelled the soldiers who formed Lambert's escort to lead him under the gallows at Tyburn; and he was then taken back to the Tower.[1]

This was the last warlike flicker of the Commonwealth;

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 761, 762; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 699; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 280–286; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 429–431; Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 155.

vanquished by their own army, or expelled from its ranks, the Republicans had only a civil battle-field left to them, namely, the elections to the next Parliament; to this they rushed with vehement energy, although without hope. It is a distinguishing perversity of political parties that, when they can do nothing more for themselves, they exhaust their strength in passionate efforts to injure their enemies. The most violent pamphlets against the King and the Royalists, sometimes menacing and sometimes lugubrious in their tone, sometimes tragic and sometimes satirical, were published every day, and in all kinds of shapes; they were dated from Paris, Brussels, and Breda, as well as from London; they were distributed throughout the provinces; they were thrown during the night into the barracks and watch-houses. They were addressed chiefly to the soldiers and the pious people, and pointed out all the reprisals, all the iniquities, all the material and moral sufferings, which would result from the religious and political reaction to which they were about to fall a prey. The Royalists maintained this wordy war with vigour, sometimes treating the attacks of the Republicans as calumnies, sometimes attacking them in their turn with a recapitulation of the wickedness, the persecutions and the sufferings which the Commonwealth had brought upon the nation. But the Royalists had, in their own body, men who, by their violence, gave some ground for the sinister predictions of the Republicans. These men had already obtained for themselves the name of the Ranters; they demanded that the purchasers and possessors of Church and Crown property should not only be deprived of their ill-gotten acquisi-

tions, but severely punished; and that the death of Strafford and of Laud should be avenged as well as that of the King. Several preachers attached to the Episcopal Church uttered these menacing insinuations from their pulpits. But the great Royalist party hastened to disavow any such intentions. "The King," wrote Hyde, on the 10th of April, "is as little a friend to these Ranters as they are to him, and I am persuaded there is not one of them who hath a correspondent in this Court; . . . and, upon my word, if it please God that the King come into his kingdom, as I doubt not but he shortly will, such people will find as little countenance as they would have done in Plato's Commonwealth." The Royalist leaders in London also thought it their duty publicly to reprobate the violent opinions of the Ranters; and seventy of the most important among them issued the following declaration, to which they affixed their names in order that it might authoritatively express the views of their party: "After the miseries of a civil war, and many and fruitless attempts towards settlement upon various interests and imaginary forms of government, it hath pleased Almighty God, by unexpected and wonderful means, to give these nations a probable hope of being restored to those laws and privileges which have been transmitted to them from their ancestors. We do declare that we think ourselves obliged, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this gracious work to his Excellency the Lord General Monk, who, as he had the courage to assert the public liberty, and the prudence to carry it on against so many difficulties, has also had the happiness to lead us thus far through the wilderness of

confusion, without passing the Red Sea of blood. And because the enemies of the public peace have endeavoured to represent those of the King's party as men implacable, and such as would sacrifice the common good to their own private passions, we do sincerely profess that we do reflect upon our past sufferings as coming from the hands of God, and we therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations to those who have been in any way instrumental in them. And if the indiscretion of any spirited persons transports them to expressions contrary to this our sense, we utterly disclaim them. . . . And we further declare that we intend, by our quiet and peaceable behaviour, to testify our submission to the present power, as it now resides in the Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament, upon whose wisdom and determinations, we trust God will give such a blessing as may produce a perfect settlement both in Church and State. . . . It is our hope and prayer that when the building comes to be raised, it may not like Rome have its beginning in the blood of brethren, nor like Babel be interrupted by confusion of tongues, but that we may all speak one language and be of one name, that all mention of parties and factions, and all rancour and animosities, may be thrown in and buried like rubbish under the foundation."[1]

These were merely honest and wise words, which contained no real guarantee, and did not even touch with precision on any of the difficult and disturbing questions

[1] Baker's Chronicle, pp. 762–764; Price's Memoirs, p. 150; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 471–473; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 724–727.

of the day; but they were words in correspondence with the general feeling of satisfaction and hope which animated the country; and joy is confident after long misfortunes. Notwithstanding their ardent exertions, the apprehensions and predictions of the Republicans obtained them no power in the elections; a few only of their leaders, who were highly respected or possessed of great influence in their county or borough,—Ludlow, Scott, Robinson, and Hutchinson,—succeeded in getting elected; an express recommendation from Monk himself was not enough to embolden his friends even to propose Thurloe as a candidate at Bridgnorth. His correspondent Thomas Gilbert wrote to him on the 11th of April: "The minister of the place (a very discreet man) together with myself and a little college of our most select friends, after setting ourselves as critically as we were able, to feel the pulse and curiously to inquire into the temper of the town, do, upon the best prudential observation we could make, jointly conclude that the General's writing would be so far from speeding your election, that his standing would not have carried his own, except he would have declared himself absolutely for the King, and without any such terms as we hear are about to be offered him. . . . Being therefore tender either of prostituting the General's letter to a baffle, or your name (ever precious and honourable with me) to a contempt, I return you the letter, with much trouble and grief of heart."[1]

Thus the two great revolutionary parties, the Repub-

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 714; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 367, 368; Hutchinson's Memoirs, p. 399; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 210–225; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 884, 895.

licans and the Cromwellians, were disappearing from the scene; the Royalists alone occupied it; united as yet, and proceeding together towards the same object, though in reality very diverse, and already exhibiting symptoms of those differences which were soon to involve them in discords and conflicts of their own. The Reforming Royalists, whether Presbyterians or mere politicians, formed the first cohort of the victorious army; they were numerous and powerful alike in the House and in the country, they were faithful to their principles and to their hopes, but they were weakened in their own hearts by that doubt and weariness, and in the opinion of others by that discredit, which ever attach to grave errors and great reverses. Connected with them in intentions, though widely separated from them as far as past conduct was concerned, were the legal Royalists, who were attached to the ancient institutions, the laws and the traditional liberties of England, and sincerely desired their maintenance, but who were the declared enemies of all innovations, and would not admit that resistance ought ever to be carried so far as insurrection. And behind these two great political parties came the great crowd of Royalists, who were unfettered by all other pledges,—old Cavaliers, devout Anglicans, ambitious young men, gentlemen of small means, and honest citizens,—all carried away by passion, interest, or recklessness, and ready to promote a blind reaction against all that had been done during the previous twenty years.

On Wednesday, the 25th of April, the two Houses met, each in its own chamber. The House of Commons numbered five hundred and fifty-six members, nearly all

of whom had already arrived, and were present. Ten peers only on that day resumed their seats in the House of Lords. The first acts of the two assemblies clearly exhibited the spirit which prevailed in them. The preachers whom they appointed to preach thanksgiving sermons before them were eminent Presbyterian divines, Reynolds, Calamy, and Baxter. The House of Lords chose the Earl of Manchester, a moderate Presbyterian, for their Speaker. In the House of Commons the leaders of that party, Hollis, Pierrepoint, Lewis, and others, hurried their friend Grimstone into the chair, before even forty members had arrived: "An irregular beginning," wrote Mordaunt to Hyde, "which is none of the best symptoms. . . . The Speaker was no sooner in his chair, but he lamented himself of his inability to perform what was expected from him; he therefore humbly desired Mr. Jessop might be clerk, without whose assistance he should be at a loss. This was likewise slabbered up before the fifth part of the members could get into the House; for they had been artificially drawn out into a room, out of which they were forced to pass through a narrow door in a great throng, which took up the time till the clerk was chosen. So many freaks appear already that I fear we shall find high opposition." Thus separation and conflict broke out between the Cavaliers and the Presbyterians, on the very first day they were brought together. The Cavaliers were the more numerous body, and the same wind of reaction, which had secured their success in the elections, continued to blow in their favour; but they were still prudent and moderate, and the Presbyterians were as yet allowed to retain the prepon-

derance. Monk had united with them to place Grimstone in the chair; at the same time that he was too selfish to struggle against the dominant violence, he was too sensible not to support the moderation which was still in credit.[1]

He had now nearly reached at once the summit and the termination of his power. On the second day of its meeting, the House of Commons gave orders to the Speaker formally to address to him its thanks. "Your wisdom has been such," said Grimstone to him, "and God has so blessed you in your great affairs, that you have made a conquest of those who were enemies and disaffected to the Government, happiness and welfare of this Church and State, without any expense of blood or treasure; of both which the nation had been so much exhausted that nothing but a necessity could rationally have satisfied any man to draw out more. Your Lordship has been our physician, and has cured us with lenitives. Statues have heretofore been set up to persons meriting much of their country, but your Lordship hath a statue set up higher, and in another place, in the hearts of all well-wishers to the good of this nation. . . . I return to your Lordship, in the name of the House, the cordial thanks of this House; and I am sure that, even if I had said nothing, your Lordship would have believed in its gratitude."[2]

Monk remained standing in his usual place while this speech was delivered, and there is no record of his having

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 1; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 4; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 210–225; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 734.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 2.

made any answer to it, otherwise than by a respectful bow. He was less silent towards the House of Lords, at whose sittings he was not present. The Earl of Manchester, accompanied by eight other peers, waited on him, by order of the House, with this message: "The Peers in Parliament assembled have commanded me to own your Lordship's valour and prudence in managing the great affairs entrusted to you. And they likewise return your Lordship their acknowledgments for the care and respects which you have expressed to the Peers, in restoring them to their ancient and undoubted right. And they hope that God will still bless you in the use of all means for procuring a safe and well-grounded peace, according to the ancient fundamental government of this nation, wherein they shall employ their counsels and utmost endeavours in concurrence with you." "I take this message," answered Monk, "for a great honour and civility from the House of Peers, and I shall be ready to carry on all things that tend to the safety and settlement of this nation. I only desire your Lordships will please to look forward, and not backward, in transacting affairs."[1]

The House of Lords was not offended at this advice; and a week afterwards, on the 3rd of May, it voted that a statue should be erected to Monk. The House of Commons treated him with still greater deference, for on the same day on which it expressed to him its gratitude in such unmeasured terms, it ordered the Speaker to tender its thanks to Colonel Ingoldsby for the eminent service he had rendered in preventing, by the arrest of

[1] Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 4.

Lambert, the renewal of the civil war. "The House," said Grimstone, "wishes to place you as high in favour as you are in merit, for adventuring yourself so far in the public cause; and the House's good acceptance thereof is the more valuable as your service is taken notice of on the same day with the great services performed for the nation by his Excellency the Lord General."[1]

Nothing less, assuredly, than the advice and insistance of Monk could have availed to persuade so royalist a House of Commons so completely to forget the regicide as thus to honour, in Ingoldsby, the obedience and valour of the soldier.

But whilst the Parliament and the General were recommending and practising this moderate course of policy, the Royalist reaction was breaking out on all sides, spontaneous, disorderly, and ungovernable. The streets resounded with ballads against the Republicans, the Cromwellians, and the Sectaries; those among them whose names and features were well known were loaded with menaces and insults; even in London, some Anabaptist churches were destroyed and their congregations dispersed by the people; arrests, arbitrary seizures, and other acts of violence were, in various localities, inflicted on those who had lately been the masters, but were now vanquished and suspected. Ludlow, on sending into Ireland to obtain from his tenants the rents which were due to him, was informed that Sir Charles Coote, who commanded in Dublin, had appropriated them, and forbidden his agent to send him any further remittances; and that Colonel Theophilus Jones had taken four valu-

[1] Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 11; Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 3.

able horses out of his stables. Several Royalists, who had been stripped of their possessions by the Revolution, did themselves justice with their own hands; a son of Lord Cottington, among others, collected his friends, and established himself by main force in Founthill-house, an estate of his father's which had been conferred by the Commonwealth upon Bradshaw. The property and persons of the regicides were secured. Major-General Harrison was brought to London by force, on refusing to leave his house, in order that he might not desert his cause. The widow of the Protector, Lady Elizabeth Cromwell, hastened to conceal, in the house of a merchant of her acquaintance, a quantity of gold, jewels, pictures, and furniture which, it was said, she had removed from various royal residences; and she fled precipitately from London, and sought refuge in Wales. Among the Revolutionaries a general terror prevailed, which was equalled only by the general enthusiasm of the Royalists; the former sought safety in submission or flight; the latter joyously paraded their triumph, and the country changed masters in a paroxysm of anarchy.[1]

On the 27th of April, the two Houses decided that, on the 1st of May following, they would meet in conference to consider the best means of bringing the existing state of the country to a speedy conclusion.[2]

On the same day, Sir John Greenville presented himself at the door of the Council of State, and requested to speak with the Lord General. Colonel Birch, a member

[1] Hutchinson's Memoirs, p. 403; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 380; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 326–329; Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 128.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 4; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 5.

of the Council, who happened to be going in at the moment, undertook to convey his message to Monk. Monk went out at once, and Greenville, in presence of the guards, gave him a packet sealed with the King's arms. Monk appeared surprised, and returned into the Council-chamber, commanding Greenville, in a severe tone, to wait, and ordering the guards not to lose sight of him. The Council was perplexed: what was to be done with the packet, the superscription and seal of which clearly revealed its origin? Birch, in alarm, declared that he did not know the messenger, and had no suspicion of the character of his message. Greenville was brought in; the President of the Council inquired from whom he had received the letters. "The King, my master," he answered, "gave me them with his own hands at Breda." It was resolved that they should be transmitted to the Parliament, which alone had any right to open them; and some one proposed that, in the meanwhile, Greenville should be committed to prison. But Monk said, "I know the gentleman, he is my near kinsman, and I will take his parole to appear before the Parliament." Greenville was accordingly permitted to withdraw in freedom.[1]

Three days after, on Tuesday, the 1st of May, 1660, at a little before noon, he presented himself in the lobby of the House of Commons, and demanded to be introduced as the bearer of a message from the King. Annesley, the President of the Council of State, was at that very moment giving an account to the House of what had occurred in the Council. Greenville was immediately brought to the bar. "Mr. Speaker," he said,

[1] Price's Memoirs, p. 152; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 297.

"I am commanded by the King my master to deliver this letter to you, and to desire that you will communicate it to the House." The letter was dated from "Our Court at Breda, this 4th–14th day of April, in the twelfth year of our reign," and was addressed "To our trusty and well-beloved, the Speaker of the House of Commons." The Speaker received it; Greenville withdrew; and Grimstone immediately, standing erect and uncovered, read the King's letter to the House, which also rose and stood bareheaded. It contained a Declaration addressed to the whole nation, with respect to the political opinions and intentions of the King. The Speaker handed this document to the Clerk, who read it to the House. Greenville meanwhile had proceeded to the House of Lords, to fulfil the same mission. He was received by that body with the traditional ceremonies of the old monarchy; the Speaker rose from his seat and advanced towards him, attended by the whole House; forty-one Peers were present. The letter and Declaration from Breda were read twice; and Greenville was called back to receive the thanks of the House for the gracious message which he had brought from the King.[1]

The three documents, the work of Hyde, were finely and ably written; expressed in a grave and affectionate tone, without any base seeking after popularity, a deep feeling of the sufferings which both the King and the people had undergone during their separation, imparted to them a character of dignified melancholy, which was

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 4; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 7; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 478, 479; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 736.

softened and elevated by the speedy prospect of a better future. They breathed a sincere respect for the ancient laws of the country, and a patriotic desire that the nation would, in concert with its Prince, decide its own fate, without any need of assistance from abroad. A general amnesty and liberty of conscience were promised, with such exceptions and limitations only as the Parliament should think fit to make. All delicate questions, among others the proprietorship of confiscated estates, were in like manner referred to the decision of Parliament, thus leaving the King his liberty while diminishing his responsibility; and though fully asserting the ancient rights of the Crown, he announced his intention to associate the two Houses with himself in all great affairs of State. "We do assure you upon our royal word," he wrote, "that none of our predecessors have had a greater esteem of Parliaments than we have in our judgment as well as from our obligation. We do believe them to be so vital a part of the constitution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the government of it, that we well know neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them. And therefore you may be confident that we shall always look upon their counsels as the best we can receive, and shall be as tender of their privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to Ourself, and most necessary for our own preservation."[1]

On leaving the House of Lords, Greenville, accompanied by Mordaunt, proceeded into the City and delivered to the Common Council, which had been specially

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 5.

convoked by the Lord Mayor, a letter from the King in which the Declaration from Breda was likewise enclosed. He had similar letters for Monk and Admiral Montague, which the King directed them to communicate to the army and the fleet. Monk assembled his officers at St. James's Palace and read to them the two papers, which had, he said, given the Parliament and himself full satisfaction, and would, he doubted not, occasion them equal gratification; to which the officers replied with unanimous acclamations. Admiral Montague, on receiving the King's letter at Gravesend, immediately summoned all his captains on board his ship, and directed his secretary Pepys to read it to them, and at the same time to propose a vote of allegiance to his Majesty; and, says Pepys, "not one man seemed to say No to it, though I am confident many in their hearts were against it." The Admiral and his captains then went on deck, where the royal letter and declaration were read to the crew, who received them with shouts of "God bless King Charles!" without thinking that the ship which resounded with their joyous cries, was still called the 'Naseby' in commemoration of the desperate battle in which Charles I. had lost his crown. The same scene was repeated, with equal enthusiasm, on board all the ships in the fleet. Malecontents are as though they were not, when popular excitement condemns them to silence. The Lord Mayor, Monk and Montague lost no time in communicating the King's letters to the two Houses of Parliament, and requesting permission to reply to them; but Montague, who had entered into direct correspondence with the King even earlier than Monk, did not wait for the per-

mission of Parliament before placing himself at his sovereign's orders. On the very next day, he despatched a messenger to report to him what had occurred on board his fleet. "I do much rejoice," he wrote, "to see that the King will require no assistance from foreign countries, as he has strength enough in the love and loyalty of his own subjects to support him. His Majesty has chosen the best place, Scheveling, for embarking; and there is nothing in the world of which I am more ambitious than to have the honour of attending his Majesty, which, I hope, will speedily be the case."[1]

The Houses of Parliament were equally anxious to avoid all unnecessary delay: the King's letter and declaration had no sooner been read, than each House appointed a Committee to prepare its answer; and on the same day, they met in conference to adopt measures for the immediate re-establishment of the monarchy. The Lords took the initiative. "Where the word of a King is," said Lord Manchester, "there is power; and where the word of our King is, there is truth; and power and truth are the best supports of government. Let us not consider the mistaken maxims of some politicians, that distrust and jealousies are the nerves and sinews of wisdom; let us take no notice of those new State-builders that have been framing imaginary schemes of government. Let us rather bring into consideration our ancient government, the best in the world, concerning which a vote has been passed in the Lords' House, to the tenor follow-

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 736; Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 6, 11, 14, 19; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 64–68; Skinner's Life of Monk, pp. 301, 305; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 377; Lister's Life of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 104.

ing:—'The Lords do own and declare that, according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons.'" The House of Commons immediately adopted a similar vote, appointed Commissioners to search through its Journals and records for all acts inconsistent with the monarchical form of government, that they might be forthwith repealed; and, combining practical measures with these declarations of principles, it voted that a sum of fifty thousand pounds should at once be offered to the King as a gift, with ten thousand pounds for the Duke of York, and five thousand for the Duke of Gloucester; and that nothing might be wanting to the full expression of its satisfaction, Greenville was called to the bar,[1] thanked by the Speaker, and presented with five hundred pounds, with which to purchase a jewel in token of the grateful goodwill of the House towards the King's messenger.[2]

There was some difficulty in obtaining this money all at once: the public treasury was so empty that it could not even furnish the five hundred pounds which had been voted to Greenville, and the House had to thank one of its members, Mr. Forth, for advancing this sum.[3] The embarrassment was still greater in regard to the fifty thousand pounds which were to be sent to the King. "It is not without admiration," wrote Dr. Betts to the Marquis of Ormonde,[4] "why the Parliament, consisting of some that have gained by these times, of many that

[1] On the 3rd of May, 1660.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 4–9; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. pp. 7–9.

[3] On the 5th of May, 1660.

[4] On the 4th of May, 1660.

have been savers in these distractions, and in general of gentlemen of great estates, did not engage for these sums, which they might easily have procured. Many have been so profuse to accomplish their elections that they have spent five hundred or a thousand pounds, yea some two thousand pounds, and yet have not been willing to contribute a hundred to so good an end and purpose as this." Great events fail to suppress human selfishness; but they derive from public opinions and interests sufficient strength to dispense with private sacrifices. Application was made to the City for the sums which were required, and met with a ready response. A loan of a hundred thousand pounds was promised for the requirements of the army; and thirty thousand pounds were paid down for immediate transmission to the King.[1] The twelve principal trading corporations voted him in addition, a present of one thousand pounds each. The people applauded this liberality of the wealthier classes; bonfires blazed in the streets, the church-bells rang joyous peals day and night; men drank the King's health on their knees in the public thoroughfares. And amid this noisy enthusiasm, petty personal ambitions endeavoured secretly to conciliate the royal favour, by offering their gifts also to the Sovereign. Lenthall, the late Speaker of the House of Commons, sent one of his friends to Breda with three thousand pounds, in the hope that so large a gift would secure his maintenance in the post of Master of the Rolls: but the present arrived too late, the office had already been promised to another person.[2]

[1] On the 1st, 3rd, and 9th of May, 1660.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 14, 4, 10, 19; Carte's Ormonde

On the 2nd and 3rd of May, the two Houses had received and adopted the draft answers to the royal letters which had been prepared by their Committees. The Lords decided that six of their number, with the Earl of Manchester at their head, and the Commons that twelve of their members, to be elected by ballot, should be sent to Breda with these answers. The election of the Commissioners of the House of Commons was not effected without considerable embarrassment. "I gave in the names of twelve enemies," wrote Broderick to Hyde, on the 7th of May, "whose absence would have exceedingly availed us, beside the possibility that they might return friends, through the King's great mastery over men. But such is the vanity of our friends that they all pressed their own and each other's names; and many who are not sent will depart voluntarily. Perhaps an unseasonable vote in their absence may more injure the crown of England than all their services, past and future, can countervail. His Majesty must therefore, after a gracious reception, dismiss them immediately, upon their allegiance, to attend the House; otherwise our labour will be in vain." The answer of the House of Commons was placed in the hands of Hollis, who was appointed to present it to the King. Fairfax was also one of the twelve Commissioners; and his chaplain, Dr. Bowles, was attached to the deputation in his clerical capacity.[1]

For a whole week, there was one continuous series of departures from London to Breda, of messengers from

Letters, vol. ii. p. 326; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 377; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 60, 62, 63, 69.

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 8, 11, 14, 15; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 12; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 739, 740.

all the powers of the State, all public bodies, and all important personages, who were anxious to lose no time in commencing or renewing their connection with royalty. With great propriety, Dr. Clarges, Monk's brother-in-law, was allowed the honour of being the first to set out,[1] bearing the General's answer to the King's letter, and the address which the officers of the army had signed in token of their allegiance. The popular joy greeted Clarges everywhere on his road; in the towns and villages through which he passed, at Deal among other places, he found the streets strewn with green boughs, and the populace crowded around him to express their satisfaction at his mission. The King's confidential correspondents, Greenville and Mordaunt, had been careful to send prudent admonitions to Breda with respect to Clarges, before he began his journey. "It is a business of great importance," they wrote to Hyde and Ormonde, on the 4th and 7th of May, "that Dr. Clarges may be treated with all kindness and respect, as a person employed upon an affair of so great consequence, and so nearly related to the General; and it is desired that his Majesty will be pleased, at his departure, to confer upon him the honour of knighthood. . . . But I am to acquaint you," added Greenville, "from my honoured friend and kinsman Mr. Morrice, and from the General himself, that you must not impart anything to Dr. Clarges of our secret correspondence and my late negotiation with the King, he not having any knowledge thereof in the least, nor is he often acquainted with any other of the General's most important affairs, especially those which require secrecy.

[1] On the 5th of May, 1660.

. . . Treat him with all manner of civility and respect, and give him all the general satisfaction you can, to please Mrs. Monk, who indeed is a very excellent woman and perfectly a friend to the King, but very indulgent to her relations; but do not trust him or give credit to him."[1]

On the 10th of May, five days after the departure of Clarges, Greenville set out, with instructions from the two Houses to announce to the King that their answers to his letters would be sent with all speed, and bearing him, as an instalment of their gift, four thousand five hundred pounds in gold, and a bill of exchange for twenty-five thousand pounds, payable at sight at Amsterdam. As he passed by Gravesend, he learned that Admiral Montague had just received orders to hold a squadron in readiness to convey the commissioners of the Parliament to Breda, and to sail at once with the rest of his fleet to the coast of Holland, so as to be at the disposal of the King. The six Lords and twelve Commoners set out on the following day. The town-clerk and several aldermen of the City of London had preceded them by a few days, and they were followed by six Presbyterian ministers, who had been deputed by their Church to assure the King of their devoted loyalty, and to express their hopes that he would establish liberty of conscience.[2]

The intelligent Royalists attached great value to this last deputation. "Their reception with civility and af-

[1] Monk's Letters, p. 86; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 769, 770; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 378, 379; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 306; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 741; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. p. 336; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 69.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 19, 20; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 304; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 73; Baker's Chronicle, p. 771.

fection," wrote Sir Thomas Wharton to the Marquis of Ormonde, on the 10th of May, "may very much conduce to the King's real service, for they are men who have an exceeding great influence upon the most considerable persons in London, and indeed over all England. Dr. Reynolds is a very learned, pious, and moderate man. Mr. Calamy I have heard lately preach in public that which many we here call the King's divines liked exceedingly much. Mr. Case I heard preach when I was in London about three months since, when the general public discourse and the officers of the army were much against the King and the House of Lords; then I heard him preach and pray very honestly and boldly as to the King. The other three I cannot speak anything knowingly of, though I hear well of them, and that they are all for a moderated Episcopacy. . . . There is another of their coat appointed by our House to attend the commissioners, and that is Mr. Bowles, who (I speak knowingly) was very instrumental in promoting the Yorkshire declaration. He has a great influence upon my Lord Fairfax, and most of the considerable gentry of Yorkshire, where his abode is. He is a very wise man, understanding men and business more than any I know of his calling, and truly, I hope, a religious good man. His designs are to bring Episcopal men and Presbyterians to such a condescension in things which are not absolutely necessary, as that there may be no jarrings, but all agree for public good and peace. If your Lordship would take notice of him, and discourse with him, it may be you would not think your time misspent, nor would you have reason to repent of it."[1]

[1] Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. p. 337.

Whilst all these envoys were engaged in fulfilling their mission, the Houses were vigorously pursuing the work of the restoration of the monarchy. They voted that, after the 5th of May, all the acts of the Government should go forth in the King's name. Orders were issued that the royal arms and statues should be set up again in all places from which they had been removed; and the Earl of Portland having stated one day in the House of Lords that he knew where an equestrian statue in bronze of Charles I. was to be found, the House took immediate measures to prevent its being mutilated or concealed by Republican malignity. All persons who were in possession of furniture, pictures, jewels, and other valuables which had formerly belonged to the Crown, were commanded to restore them at once. Search was made for them in all directions. Several of the objects which Lady Elizabeth Cromwell had appropriated and concealed were discovered and seized. These investigations were carried on with extreme violence; the agents of the Government had authority to force open the doors of all persons who resided in the royal palaces, in order to ascertain that nothing had been taken away; and the House of Commons had to give orders for the restitution to Fleetwood and Mrs. Lambert of certain furniture and horses which had been taken from their houses, on the erroneous supposition that they were royal property. Lord Lisle declared that he had in his possession some statues and pictures which had formerly stood in the cabinet of the late King, and that he was ready to restore them to their old place. A citizen of Westminster sent word that he had purchased a state canopy for thirty pounds, and he

was requested to return it to Whitehall, for the King's audience-chamber. Stringent orders were issued for the prevention of all profanation of the royal buildings, and all devastation of the forests of the Crown. The House of Commons authorized the Council of State to expend thirty thousand pounds in putting the royal palaces in handsome repair. The Lords and Commons held conferences to determine on the preparations for the King's reception; statements were laid before them of everything that would need to be purchased and done in order that, on returning to Whitehall, his Majesty might find himself surrounded by all the splendour, all the conveniences, and all the enjoyments of royal life; no detail was passed over as too trivial or familiar; and Mrs. Monk, "who is an extreme good woman," wrote Broderick to Hyde, on the 7th of May, "far from vanity, and full of zeal for his Majesty, is providing linen for the King's person; and because it was (as she saith frankly) her old trade, she will save the King one half in laying out the other."[1]

To these domestic arrangements, a public and solemn act was added; the two Houses decided that they would in person proclaim the King in presence of the people. A proclamation was drawn up in these terms: "Although it can no way be doubted but that his Majesty's right and title to his crown and kingdoms is and was every way completed by the death of his most royal father of glorious memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a proclamation; yet, since proclamations in such cases

[1] Lords' Journals, vol. xi. pp. 11, 18, 19, 26, 29, 33, 34, 43; Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 17, 21, 25, 26, 27, 42, 43, 47; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 739, 740.

have been always used, to the end that all good subjects might, upon this occasion, testify their duty and respect; and since the armed violence, and other calamities of many years last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such opportunity, whereby we might express our loyalty and allegiance to his Majesty: We therefore, the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, and other freemen of this kingdom now present, do, according to our duty and allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously proclaim that, immediately upon the decease of our late sovereign lord King Charles, the imperial crown of the realm of England, and of all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent birthright and lawful undoubted succession, descend and come to his most excellent Majesty Charles the Second, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next heir of the blood royal of this realm; and that by the goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent, mighty, and undoubted King: and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit and oblige ourselves, our heirs, and posterity for ever." On Tuesday, the 8th of May, the two Houses assembled before the doors of the Parliament, and ordered this proclamation to be read; then, entering their carriages, with the two Speakers at their head, and Monk next in the procession, they proceeded to the palace of Whitehall, in front of which the same ceremony was repeated. The *cortége* then went on its way towards the City; on arriving at Temple Bar, they found the gates shut; the trumpets

sounded, and the herald-at-arms knocked at the door. The Lord Mayor sent to inquire who it was that knocked. "If you will open the wicket, and let the Lord Mayor come hither, I will to him deliver my message," answered the herald. The Lord Mayor rode up to the door on horseback, attired in his robe of scarlet velvet, and with all his insignia of office. "Who are you and what is your message?" he asked. "We are the heralds-at-arms, appointed and commanded by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, to demand entrance into the famous City of London to proclaim Charles the Second King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and we expect your speedy answer to this demand." The gates were opened, the procession entered, and repairing to the four principal points in the City, the Houses proclaimed the King, amid the booming of cannon from the Tower, and the enthusiastic shouts of the populace, "God save King Charles the Second!"[1]

One monarchical scruple remained; the Parliament which restored the throne had been elected and sat as a revolutionary convention, without any authority from the King, who alone had the right to convoke it; a bill was prepared and passed to obviate this illegality; it was entitled, "An Act for removing and preventing all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of this present Parliament."[2]

In the presence of all these occurrences, what had be-

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 16–18; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. pp. 18, 19; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. p. 275; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 772–774; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 701.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 11, 12; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 14; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 268, 271.

come of the intention of the Presbyterians and political reformers to treat with the King, and to secure strong preliminary guarantees for the public liberties and for themselves? The work of the Restoration was accomplished; though still absent in fact, the King had been everywhere recognized and proclaimed, was morally present, and had resumed possession of the government of the country. Carried away by the national movement and by their own passions, from motives either of fear or of hope, the most resolute men of the Moderate party had concurred and were daily co-operating in this spontaneous re-establishment of monarchy. Some men who knew they were irretrievably compromised, such as St. John, Thurloe, and perhaps even Pierrepoint, with a view at once to satisfy and divert the tendency of the country towards monarchy, still ventured sometimes to mention the name of Richard Cromwell. "Even supposing the King," they said, "to be the most accomplished, the wisest, and the best-natured Prince in the world, and the most religious observer of his word, his party, which consists altogether of indigent men, partly by their own luxury, and partly by their ill-success in the wars, will become powerful by little and little until they are so considerable that, in spite of all the industry that can be used to prevent it, they will force the King to break any engagement he may now make, though never so binding. And since the nation is so violent for a single person, there is none who so conveniently may comprehend all interests as Richard. To this end, the match between his sister and Sir Arthur Haslerig's son may be renewed, the old army sounded, and the Commonwealth party

made securer under him than under the King." Others, more accommodating, while accepting Charles Stuart for their sovereign, persisted in demanding that some new limitations should be placed on his power; Sir Walter Earle, for instance, proposed that all the great officers of State should be appointed by the Houses, and that the King should be allowed only the right of confirmation. Others were willing that his Majesty should retain the power of appointing to all offices which had relation to his person or purse, such as that of Lord Treasurer, for example; but they demanded that all judicial functionaries, and particularly the Lord Chancellor, should be nominated by the two Houses of Parliament. The object of this was to exclude Hyde from the Government. But all these suggestions of confused theorists and expiring coteries, feebly manifested in a few timid conversations, disappeared utterly before the monarchical cry which was re-echoed from the whole land within the walls of the Parliament.[1]

One excellent man, a great magistrate who had resisted all tyrannies, who had withstood both Cromwell and the Commonwealth,—Sir Matthew Hale made a more disinterested and more serious attempt. Earnestly desiring to obtain some accurate knowledge of the true character of Charles II., he one day questioned Dr. Morley on the subject, with a view to ascertain what were the intellectual gifts, the moral qualities, and the religious opinions of the King. "I do not make these inquiries,"

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 747–749; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. pp. 908, 911, 912; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

he said, "for my own satisfaction, or because I have myself any doubt of that kind, but in order to the satisfaction of others, that I may speak on the authority of one who has better means to give an assurance of these things than I have." He inquired particularly of Morley whether it were true, as had been asserted, that the King intended to marry the niece of Cardinal Mazarin, or some Catholic Princess; and on receiving an answer in the negative, "I am heartily glad of it," he said, "for it is impossible anything should more firmly and immovably fasten the King in the hearts of his people than seeing that he would be pleased to marry a Protestant." Less satisfied however than he professed to be, Hale determined to attempt to secure the adoption of some precautions; and before the commissioners of the Parliament set out for Breda, he moved that a committee should be appointed to examine the propositions which had been presented, in 1647, to the late King in the Isle of Wight, with a view to ascertain which of them it would be expedient now to submit to the King his son. The motion was supported, among others, by Prynne, who was as bold by temperament as Hale was by virtue; but Monk rose to oppose it. "There is yet," he said, "beyond all men's hope, an universal quiet all over the nation; but there are many incendiaries still on the watch, trying where they may first raise the flame. I have such copious informations sent me of these things, that it is not fit they should be generally known; but I cannot answer for the peace either of the nation or of the army, if any delay is put to the sending for the King. What need is there of sending propositions to him?

Might we not as well prepare them, and offer them to him, when he shall come over? He will bring neither army nor treasure with him, either to fright or to corrupt us. So I move that we immediately send commissioners to bring over the King; and I must lay the blame of all the blood and mischief that may follow, on the heads of those who shall still insist on any motion that may delay the present settlement of the nation." This speech was received with such acclamations by the House, that Hale himself withdrew his motion.[1]

In speaking thus, Monk spoke in conformity with the general public opinion no less than with his own personal interest; it was his sole endeavour to regulate his conduct so as to meet the wishes of both King and people, and to secure his own fortune by restoring the crown to the King, and tranquillity to the country. He cared for nothing more, and weary England demanded nothing more. It is one of the worst consequences of long-continued revolutions that, after they have wildly excited men's ambition, they shamefully cast it down, extinguish every great hope in their hearts, and reduce them to be satisfied with the accomplishment of their most vulgar desires.

The royal Declaration from Breda, with its assurances of moderation and respect for the ancient laws of the country, and its promises that no great questions should be determined without the concurrence of the Parliament,

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 736; Burnet's History of His Own Time, vol. i. pp. 161, 162. It appears certain however that at this time Charles II. was still a suitor to Cardinal Mazarin for the hand of his niece, Hortense Mancini. See Mémoires de Mdlle. de Montpensier, vol. iii. p. 434, in Petitot's Collection of Memoirs.

furnished the only guarantees which the Restoration gave to England.

In order that these guarantees might possess some efficacy, it was at least necessary that the two Houses, with which the King pledged himself to act in concert, should remain as they had just been constituted, while the country was still under the influence of the late great conflict for the preservation of the public liberties, and before the reaction which was now beginning had become fully developed. The Presbyterians, the first political reformers, the leaders of the moderate party in the Long Parliament, were there; still powerful, and jealous to maintain the rights of the country and their own dignity, at the same time that they recalled the King. They made two attempts to secure that the Houses of Parliament should retain their actual character, and should place the principles professed and the essential acts done by the Long Parliament before the fall of the monarchy, in safety from the perils which now menaced them.

On the 4th of May, the Lords voted that no writ of summons should, until further orders, be addressed to those Peers who, in 1644, had sat in the assembly convened by the late King under the name of the Parliament of Oxford; and on the 22nd of May, a bill was proposed, in the House of Commons, for annulling all titles, honours, and gifts, which had been conferred either by the late or by the reigning King, since the month of May, 1642, in other words, since the outbreak of the civil war. On the one hand, precautions were taken to prevent the majority in the House of Lords from passing to those Peers who, during the civil war, had sided with the

King; on the other hand, at the very moment of the re-establishment of the monarchy, it was impliedly laid down as a principle that, during the rupture between the King and the Houses, the rightful power had resided, not in the hands of the King and in the place of his abode, but in London and in the Long Parliament.[1]

In order to maintain their preponderance, the Houses had a more direct and still more practical means at their disposal. If they could not settle definitively and by themselves alone those great questions which the King, on his side, promised not to decide without their concurrence, they could at all events treat of them in advance, whilst the absent Sovereign's influence did not as yet weigh powerfully upon them; and by freely manifesting their intentions, and ratifying them by votes, they would render the settlement which they desired probable and almost inevitable. They hastened to adopt this course; at the same time that they adopted all the measures necessary for the provisional government of the State in reference to the administration of justice and the maintenance of order, they prepared drafts of all the bills which were suggested in the Declaration from Breda, promising themselves that thus, when the King arrived, he would find, in regard to all essential and difficult questions, resolutions adopted and acts in readiness, to which it would be impossible for him to refuse his sanction.

In religious matters, at the same time that Presbyterian manifestations, sermons, thanksgivings, and public prayer-meetings, were frequently held and assiduously

[1] Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 13; Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 41.

attended, bills were brought in for securing liberty of conscience to all Christians, excepting the Roman Catholics; for maintaining the clergy, most of whom were Presbyterians, in possession of the benefices which they then occupied; and for giving similar security to parish schoolmasters. And in the hope of restoring peace to the Church, by bringing about a reconciliation between the Episcopalians and the Dissenters, it was proposed that all the questions on which they disagreed should be referred to a national Synod, in the same manner as political questions were submitted to the judgment of the Parliament.[1]

In civil affairs, a committee was specially appointed to take the royal Declaration from Breda into consideration, and to prepare all the bills to which it gave rise. The ratification of the sales of property confiscated by the Long Parliament, the abolition of the onerous feudal rights which the Crown still possessed, and of the Court of Wards by which those rights were enforced, and the formal confirmation of the fundamental laws of the State, the Great Charter, the Petition of Right, and the privileges of Parliament; all those interests, in a word, which liberty or the revolution had created, were set forth in carefully-discussed propositions, which were to be presented for the sanction of the King.[2]

One question however rose far above all others; a question purely casual, but one involving peace or war,

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 19, 25, 23, 47; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 722, 723, 727, 732, 738, 747; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 85.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 11, 25, 40, 42, 45, 49; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 747–749.

life or death, after these long civil discords: and that question was, the Amnesty. It seemed to have been settled already. In his first communication with the King, Monk had expressly advised a general amnesty, with the exception only of four of the Judges of Charles I.; and even with regard to this exception, Monk invariably answered, when he was asked if any were to be excluded: "Not a man; for if I should suffer such a thing, I should be the arrantest rogue that ever lived." Those about him held the same language; Colonel Hutchinson having one day expressed some apprehension to Ashley Cooper, "Let me be damned body and soul," answered Sir Anthony, "if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel." It might have been believed that the House of Commons was actuated by the same feeling, even towards the regicides; several of them, Ludlow and Hutchinson among others, were among its members; a third, Ingoldsby, had just received its official thanks; many influential Royalists wrote to the King on behalf of Ingoldsby, and Charles, though not without some embarrassment, seemed inclined to treat him with favour. Whether careless politicians, or sincerely moderate men, the friends of the Restoration used every effort to obtain an almost complete amnesty, and to reassure those even who found themselves threatened with exclusion from it.[1]

But the threat nevertheless existed. "We do grant a free and general pardon," said Charles in his Declara-

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 489–491; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 747, 739, 740; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 381; Hutchinson's Memoirs, p. 396; Carte's Ormonde Letters, vol. ii. pp. 332–334.

tion from Breda, "to all our subjects, excepting only such persons as shall be hereafter excepted by Parliament;" and in his letter to the House of Commons, he had written: "If there be a crying sin, for which the nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem and vindicate the nation from that guilt and infamy, as we can be." The regicides were thus set apart, to serve as an example and an expiation.[1]

It was not long before their fate was brought under discussion. The Amnesty Bill, which was read for the first time on Wednesday, the 9th of May, gave rise, on the following Saturday, to a violent debate, in which the regicides bore the chief part. Several members demanded that no exception should be made, and that the regicides should be included in the general pardon. "Though I had no part in the death of the King," said the Earl of Northumberland, "I am against questioning those who were concerned in that affair; that the example may be more useful to posterity, and profitable to future Kings, by deterring them from the like exorbitances." Fairfax held the most generous language. "If any man must be excepted," he said, "I know no man that deserves it more than myself, for I was General of the army at that time, and had power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the King; but I did not think fit to make use of it to that end." Without venturing to cry out against such men, the Cavaliers and Presbyterians who had fought so vehemently against the Republicans, shuddered in their inmost souls; they resolved to de-

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 5.

mand that the official record of the King's trial should be read, from the Act instituting the High Court of Justice to the final sentence; kindled by these tragical recollections, all the old passions revived, and in the debate which ensued, the contending parties soon ceased to measure their blows. A young member, Sir John Lenthall, the son of the former Speaker of the House of Commons, in supporting an amnesty without exception, exclaimed, "He that first drew his sword against the King committed as high an offence as he that cut off the King's head." A violent tumult was excited by these words; the charge was more than the old leaders of the Long Parliament could or would endure, for they were the original authors, first of the resistance to the royal tyranny, and then of the civil war. They called upon Lenthall to explain himself. He attempted to do so, though it is not known in what manner, and left the House. A proposition was immediately made and carried that he should be officially reprimanded. Lenthall was brought to the bar, and fell on his knees. "Rise, Sir," said the Speaker; "the House hath taken very great offence at some words you have let fall upon debate of this business of the Bill of Indemnity, which, in the judgment of this House, have as high a reflection on the justice and proceedings of the Lords and Commons in the last Parliament, in their actings before 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much of poison in the words, and that they were spoken out of design to set this House on fire; as they tend to bring those that drew the sword to bring delinquents to condign punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties, into

balance with those that cut off the King's head; of which act they express their abhorrence and detestation, appealing to God, and their conscience bearing them witness, that they had no thoughts against his person, much less against his life. Therefore I am commanded to let you know that had these words fallen out at any other time but in this Parliament, or at any other time in this Parliament but when it had considerations of mercy, pardon, and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer sentence than I am now to pronounce. But this disposition of his Majesty is to mercy, he hath invited his people to accept it; and it is the disposition of the body of this House to be healers of breaches, and to hold forth mercy to men of all conditions, so far as may stand with justice and the justification of themselves before God and man. I am therefore commanded to let you know that, that being their disposition, and the present subject of this debate being mercy, you shall taste of mercy. Yet am I to give you a sharp reprehension, and I do as sharply and severely as I can (for so I am commanded) reprehend you for it.[1]

In the midst of such a debate, reprobated even by those who protected them, and placed in a position of as great isolation and anxiety as prisoners before their captors or culprits before their judges, the four or five regicides who had ventured to take their seats in the House, endeavoured to defend themselves. Ingoldsby, bursting into tears, reminded the House that he had taken no part in any of the sittings or acts of the High Court which

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 19, 24; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 380, 381; Hutchinson's Memoirs, pp. 403, 404; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 85.

had condemned the King, and that at the last moment, Cromwell had seized him by the hand, and forced him to sign the death-warrant; an apology which contained as much falsehood as truth, and which was offered with a penitence that was humiliating in spite of its sincerity. Colonel Hutchinson rose in his turn: "For my actings in those days," he said, "if I erred, it was the inexperience of my age, and the defect of my judgment, and not the malice of my heart, which has ever prompted me to pursue the general advantage of my country more than my own. If the sacrifice may conduce to the public peace and settlement, I shall freely submit my life and fortunes to your disposal. . . . I have but too just cause to repent that I ever forsook my own blessed quiet in order to embark in such a troubled sea, where I have made shipwreck of all things but a good conscience; and as to that particular action of the King, I desire you to believe I have that sense of it that befits an Englishman, a Christian, and a gentleman."[1]

Having said these words simply and with dignity, Hutchinson left the House, and went into an adjoining room, to which Ingoldsby also had retired. "Oh! Colonel," said the latter, throwing himself into his friend's arms, "did I ever imagine we could be brought to this? Could I have suspected it, when I brought them Lambert the other day, this sword should have redeemed us from being dealt with as criminals, by the people for whom we have so gloriously exposed ourselves." "Ever since these usurpers thrust out the law-

[1] Hutchinson's Memoirs, pp. 404, 405; Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 188.

ful authority of the land to enthrone themselves," replied Hutchinson, "I have foreseen it could end in nothing else; but the integrity of my heart in all I have done, makes me as cheerfully ready to suffer as to triumph in a good cause."[1]

Meanwhile, the debate went on in the House; the tears of Ingoldsby added little to the merit of his recent services, but at the same time they did not militate against him. Some members were of opinion that Hutchinson's explanation was that of a man more afflicted by events and their consequences than sorrowful for his own actions; others insisted strongly in his favour, saying that when a man's words were susceptible of two interpretations, it behoved an assembly of gentlemen to adopt the more favourable view. They were both formally included in the amnesty; notwithstanding the vehemence of rekindled passions, the House was anxious to be moderate, and to limit the exceptions to a very small number; a proposition to exclude all the regicides from the amnesty was immediately rejected; twenty were then suggested, then thirteen, then nine; and finally, by the advice of Monk, the House reduced the number of exceptions to seven.[2] Four deceased regicides, the greatest of them all, Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, were declared guilty of high treason: but at the same time, and as if ashamed of its moderation, the House decreed that, until further orders and so long as their fate had not been finally decided, all the judges who had sat in the High Court on the day on which the King's sentence had been pronounced should be arrested and imprisoned,

[1] Hutchinson's Memoirs, p. 405. [2] On the 14th of May, 1660.

as well as the Attorney-General Cooke and the three clerks of the court, the two executioners and a man named Mathew who had boasted that he had assisted them, and Cornet Joyce who, on the 2nd of June, 1647, had carried off the King from Holmby and delivered him up to the army. And a few days after,[1] the House further voted that all the property of all the persons whose arrest it had ordered should be seized and confiscated. A single exception was made in favour of Colonel Tomlinson, with regard to whom it was alleged (as it would appear, falsely) that Charles I. on his way to the scaffold, had strongly recommended him to his son and friends, in return, it was said, for the kindness with which Tomlinson had treated him during his captivity.[2]

When these votes were communicated to the House of Lords for their ratification,[3] the Lords demanded a conference with the Commons, not with a view to offer any substantial opposition to their resolutions, but because they had, in certain respects, encroached on the jurisdiction and privileges of the Upper House. Two conferences were held[4], without leading to any agreement. Meanwhile, the reaction extended and grew more violent every day; orders were issued for the arrest of men who had had nothing whatever to do with the King's trial; among others, Thurloe was committed to prison, and impeached of high treason.[5] Several persons were sent to the Tower

[1] On the 17th of May, 1660.

[2] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 25, 26, 27, 34; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 381–386; Hutchinson's Memoirs, p. 406.

[3] On the 17th of May, 1660.

[4] On the 19th and 22nd of May, 1660.

[5] On the 15th of May, 1660.

on mere denunciations, for words spoken against the King, whose arrival was now shortly expected. All the titles and honours conferred by Cromwell or his son were annulled, and erased from the records of all public offices. Whoever was suspected of having aided any regicide to escape from England, was subjected to rigorous punishment. Continued amidst this outbreak of passions so contrary, the discussion of the Amnesty became cold and futile; the bill was left in suspense.[1]

Nearly all the other bills prepared for the settlement of the various political and religious questions which the Declaration from Breda had raised, met with the same fate; in vain did the Presbyterians and Reformers attempt to hasten them forward; the Cavaliers invariably interposed delays and difficulties in the debates, making it their object to procure the postponement of every decision, and flattering themselves that they would be far stronger when the King was in England, or when another Parliament met. From a distance, Charles and his advisers acted with a view to the same end; they also were averse to the resolutions which the old politicians of the Long Parliament were endeavouring to get adopted, in regard to most of the questions then pending; they were unwilling to make concessions to the Presbyterian system in the Church, to grant toleration to Dissenters, to confirm the sales of confiscated property, or to admit the intervention of Parliament in the disposal of the great offices under the Crown. All the bills intended to embody and establish the principles and wishes of the

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 34, 36, 38, 41, 26, 46, 50; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. pp. 26, 35, 36, 37, 42; Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 381–386.

two Houses on these questions, were left incomplete and without any result.[1]

On two points only did the Houses adopt complete and decided resolutions. The Court of Wards was abolished, and a fixed allowance of one hundred thousand pounds a year was substituted for the profits which the Crown had derived from its ancient feudal rights over the persons and property of families who held their estates under it. The fundamental laws of England, the Great Charter, the Petition of Right, and the statutes which, at various periods, had been passed in confirmation of them, as well as all the rights and privileges of Parliament, were again declared and enacted. These two bills, as definitively amended and adopted,—marking the happy progress, and serving as a useful confirmation, of the victories of the spirit of reform and liberty,—were ready to receive the royal sanction, which might be denied them.[2]

Charles meanwhile was at Breda, waiting for the commissioners of the Parliament, and overwhelmed by the congratulations and advances of the Courts of the Continent, which now treated him as caressingly as they had previously shown themselves cold and careless. Mazarin was the most eager of all to conciliate his good graces; he earnestly desired to maintain with Charles the alliance which he had made with Cromwell, and from which he had derived such useful support in defeating Spain, and compelling her to make peace. He requested

[1] Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 680, 687, 728, 747; Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 1-49; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. pp. 1-48.

[2] See the Debates of the 22nd and 25th, 23rd and 29th of May, 1660. Commons' Journals, vol. viii. pp. 40, 44, 45, 49.

Queen Henrietta Maria to send her favourite Lord Jermyn (whom Charles, to please his mother, had just created Earl of St. Albans), to Breda without delay. Mazarin wished that Charles should come to Paris, and conclude his treaty of reconciliation with his people in that capital. He promised him all the good offices and friendly assistance that Charles and the Royalists could desire. And if Paris would take Charles too far away from his affairs, or too much out of his road, Mazarin proposed to direct that the necessary preparations should be made for his reception at Calais, or any other port he might select, so that he might from thence pass over into England with suitable *éclat*. A consummate courtier, Mazarin excelled in the art of foreseeing and offering that which was likely to be suitable or pleasing to those whom he found it necessary to influence. But the Queen-mother was not in an amiable frame of mind; she knew, and though it did not cause her much regret, she could not help feeling some annoyance,—she knew it would be impossible for her to return with splendour into England by the side of the King her son; Hyde, whom she detested, was daily gaining greater authority in the conduct of his affairs; she yielded, but without zeal, to the request of Mazarin; Lord St. Albans set out somewhat late for Breda, and found the King determined not to go into France. This, Charles told him, was the advice given him by all his friends in England, and by Monk in particular. He had moreover just refused a similar invitation from the Marquis de Carracena, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, who had strongly pressed him, in the name of the King his master, to return to Brus-

sels; without offending the Court of Madrid, he could not now accept the offers of the King of France, with which he expressed himself highly delighted, for it was towards France, her government and Court, that his secret policy and tastes inclined him.[1]

A few days before Lord St. Albans arrived at Breda, the Marquis de Carracena had sent a gentleman to inform Charles that some most important propositions had just been sent into Flanders from England, and that the Marquis, not wishing to make any answer without the King's concurrence, desired that his Majesty would come to Brussels to confer with him on the subject. Charles declined, somewhat disdainfully; his affairs, he said, were progressing so favourably in England that he hoped his only occasion for leaving the place where he was, would be to return to his own country. Carracena expostulated, and begged the King not to leave the dominions of his Catholic Majesty, who had treated him with so much kindness, in such a manner, without any mark of friendship; and he requested that, if the King could not come himself, he would at least send one of his brothers, the Duke of York or the Duke of Gloucester, to Brussels, in testimony of his sentiments. But Charles again made excuses; and Carracena, in great irritation, vented his ill-temper on his associate in the conduct of Spanish relations with England, Don Alonzo de Cardenas, whom he loaded with reproaches for his stupidity in not having been able to form a correct opinion of what

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 493–495; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 749; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 6–10–13, and June 3–7, 1660. See APPENDIX.

was likely to occur in England, after sixteen years' residence as ambassador in that country.[1]

The offers of the Dutch were more favourably received. As soon as the States-General learned that Charles was at Breda, they sent a deputation to thank him for the honour he had done them in taking up his residence in a town which, though dependent on the domain of the House of Orange, was situated in their territory. The States of the province of Holland also hastened to send him their complimentary congratulations, and invited him to the Hague, "where preparations should be made for his reception, in such a manner as should testify the great joy of their hearts for the blessings which Divine Providence was pouring on his head." Charles promised to accept this invitation as soon as he had terminated his business at Breda; and being asked to give the watch-word during his residence in that town, he gave the word *Amsterdam*, as a token of his gratitude to that city which, during his exile, had secretly lent him more than three hundred thousand pounds. A few days afterwards, accompanied by the two Princes his brothers, and by his sister the Princess of Orange, he embarked on board a state-yacht, and attended by a large number of other vessels which had been fitted out to do him honour, he set sail for Rotterdam. The people crowded the banks of the Meuse to see him pass. At Rotterdam, a deputation from the States-General awaited him with a hundred and fifty carriages; more than five hundred English gentlemen joined the cavalcade on horseback; and on

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 445, 492, 493; Bordeaux to Mazarin, May 13, 1660. See APPENDIX.

the same day, the 15th of May, 1660, Charles made his entrance into the Hague, where he was welcomed with official pomp and popular acclamations.[1]

The various messengers who had been deputed, by the various powers in England, to salute and recall the King, arrived meanwhile one after another at Breda and the Hague. Clarges was the first who made his appearance, on behalf of Monk and the army; then came Greenville, bearing the gifts of the House of Commons; then the commissioners of the two Houses, of the City of London, and of the Presbyterian clergy; and with these official envoys, a swarm of individual visitors, Cavaliers, Presbyterians, Republicans, and Cromwellians, flocked to the Court, each on his own account, to boast of his fidelity or crave pardon for his errors, to magnify past services or promise future allegiance, and, in all cases, to claim the reward that was either due or expected. Charles received them all with those varied gradations of kindness which constitute the skill of Kings, and which good fortune makes it easy for them to practise, even towards old enemies. Clarges was well treated, in the degree suggested by Monk himself, with more apparent than real confidence. When Greenville arrived, bringing thirty thousand pounds in gold and bills of exchange, the delighted King called the Princess of Orange and the Duke of York, that they might see this treasure, of which they had so long known the want, before it was taken from the valise of the messenger. At the Hague, the recep-

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 495–497; Leclerc's Histoire des Provinces Unies, vol. iii. p. 7; Aitzema, Saken van Staet, vol. iv. pp. 586–592; Wagenaar's Vaderlandsche Historie, vol. xiii. p. 8; Histoire de Corneille et Jean de Witt, vol. i. p. 180.

tion of the eighteen commissioners of the two Houses was of the most pompous character; at one time, its solemnity seemed likely to be disturbed; when Hollis began to speak in the name of the House of Commons; Henry Howard abruptly interrupted him, and claimed the honour for another; Hollis haughtily asserted his right; and the King immediately requested him to continue. His speech was long, and full at once of Royalist enthusiasm and Parliamentarian pride; stern in its condemnation of the revolutionary governments, both Republican and Cromwellian, but equally inflexible in maintaining, as undoubted rights, the liberties of the country. "In your absence, Sire," he said, "other lords have had dominion over your subjects, have reigned and ruled over their bodies and estates, but their better part, their hearts and minds and souls, were free and did abhor such rulers, and still continued faithful and loyal to your Majesty, their rightful lord and sovereign. And with you and under you they now expect to re-enter into the possession of their ancient rights and privileges, to enjoy again their laws and liberties, and, which is above all, their religion in purity and truth." The King interrupted the speaker, to give expression to his own sentiments, saying that he knew his people had suffered as well as himself, and that henceforward it would be his sole care to render his people as happy as he should be himself. During the audience, the King remarked among the commissioners Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was suffering painfully from the effects of a recent fall. "I am very sensible," he said, "with what zeal and application you have laboured for my restoration." But the old General of

the civil war, Fairfax, was more than all others the chief object of the curiosity of the King, who afterwards received him and his chaplain, Dr. Bowles, in his cabinet, and treated him with the greatest consideration, without however bestowing on him any favour, for Fairfax would ask for nothing. The commissioners from the City were knighted, as were also Clarges and Samuel Morland, the private secretary of Thurloe, who had informed the King of Sir Richard Willis's treachery. The Presbyterian ministers were admitted to several interviews with the King, and received from him some rather vague assurances with regard to their own liberty; but they attempted in vain to obtain from him any promises of concession, with respect to the liturgy and ceremonies of the Episcopal Church, which would be likely to meet the views and effect the union of the Dissenters; and they withdrew ill-satisfied, leaving the King in a weary and scoffing humour. But amidst the general joy, neither the King nor the divines cared to manifest their displeasure; falsehood and distrust already began to mingle with their mutual protestations of goodwill and devotedness.[1]

Meanwhile, Admiral Montague had arrived with his fleet in the bay of Scheveling,[2] within sight of the Hague, and had placed himself at the orders of the King. A few days previously,[3] Charles had received a letter from

[1] Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 43; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 38; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. pp. 498–501; Baker's Chronicle, p. 774; Cobbett's Parliamentary History, vol. iv. cols. 35–40; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 383; Wingrove Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. i. pp. 3, 242, 245; Bell's Fairfax Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 217–220; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 74.

[2] On the 14th of May, 1660.

[3] On the 10th of May, 1660.

Monk, urging him to hasten his return; "for your Majesty's presence and authority," he wrote, "are very necessary to preserve that happy peace your realms enjoy through Divine goodness." Charles also was anxious to return, not only from motives of very natural impatience, but because he was still afraid that the Presbyterians might throw some delay in his way, in order to impose conditions upon him. He accordingly wrote to Monk that he would embark on the 21st or 22nd of May, and intended to land at Dover; and orders were given to Montague to be ready to sail on that day. In the meanwhile, some officers of the fleet, and with them Samuel Pepys, the Admiral's confidential secretary, went on shore, as they were impatient to see the King and to be seen by him. They were surprised and affected at the air of neediness and almost of poverty which marked all the royal household; "their best clothes," says Pepys, "were not worth forty shillings." The Dukes of York and Gloucester went on board the fleet, and were received with lively demonstrations of enthusiasm. On their return to land, the shore was thronged with people, and Charles himself was among the crowd, curious to see the ship, still called the 'Naseby,' which was to carry him back to his kingdom. As soon as it became known on board the fleet that the King was on the shore, the guns boomed out in his honour; "which was the first time," says Pepys, "that he had been saluted by his own ships since this change."[1]

[1] Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 81, 86, 87; Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 746; Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 912; Lister's Life of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 106.

Charles would not leave the Hague without having solemnly thanked the States-General for their generous and magnificent hospitality. They had undertaken to pay all the expenses of himself and his household, during his residence in their capital; and he had received repeated marks of goodwill and respect, from the populace as well as from the various public authorities. He knew that by showing himself friendly towards Holland, he would gain the approval of England; for notwithstanding their rivalries and wars, their common faith was ever a strong bond of union between the two peoples, and a basis of their national policy. Charles moreover was to leave in Holland his sister the Princess of Orange, his nephew Prince William (then still a child), and all that family of Nassau from whom he had received so many proofs of faithful friendship; he had it at heart to recommend them to the Government and people of Holland. On the 22nd of May, deputies from all the provinces waited on him at the house of Prince Maurice of Nassau where he lodged, and conducted him to the hall of the States-General, that were assembled to receive him. He took leave of them with the most friendly declarations, both political and personal. "I really cherish these Provinces in my affections," he said, "and it would be a great grief to me if they granted a larger share of their friendship to another Prince than to myself, for I love them more than all other Kings put together." On leaving the hall he paid a similar visit to the Provincial States of Holland, and gave to the Pensionary John De Witt, a paper which he had signed, and which ran thus: "Gentlemen, as I leave here under your protection the Princess Royal my

sister, and the Prince of Orange my nephew, two persons who are extremely dear to me, I beg you to be so good as to take their interests to heart, and to show them your goodwill on all occasions when the Princess my sister shall apply to you, either for herself or for the Prince her son; assuring you that I shall be as sensible of the good effects of your good affection to them, as if I had received them in my own person." On the following day, the 23rd of May, the States of Holland came to return the King his visit, and John De Witt addressed to him, in their name, a farewell speech which surpassed, in protestations of respect and friendship, all that the Dutch authorities had hitherto said to the King. As politic as he was high-spirited, the republican patrician who was then struggling against the House of Orange in Holland, sought somewhat anxiously to conciliate the goodwill of the new master of England, with which he was desirous to keep his country at peace, no matter what were the name and form of its government.[1]

Charles had now done all that courtesy demanded; every preparation had been made on board the fleet for his reception; thirty-one vessels of various sizes awaited him in the roadstead of Scheveling. On the 23rd of May, 1660, he left the Hague, and still accompanied by a brilliant cavalcade, which included several members of the States, with John De Witt at their head, he proceeded to the shore, where an immense crowd had assembled to salute him once more before his departure.

[1] Leclerc's Histoire des Provinces Unies, vol. iii. p. 8; Aitzema, vol. iv. pp. 590–604; Histoire de Corneille et Jean de Witt, vol. i. pp. 181–189; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 497.

Vice-Admiral Stayner, one of the brave companions of Blake, was in waiting with boats to convey the King and his suite on board the Admiral's ship. Charles bowed his thanks to the crowd, shook John De Witt affectionately by the hand, and entered the boat with his aunt the Queen of Bohemia, his sister the Princess of Orange, and his young nephew Prince William, who were unwilling to leave him until the last moment. They dined with him on board the 'Naseby,' amid the booming of the guns of the fleet, and the acclamations of a multitude of Dutch boats that were plying about the royal vessel. After dinner, Charles gave himself the pleasure of at once exercising his new-found royalty, in presence of the commissioners of the two Houses and of the officers of the fleet: he changed the names of the flag-ship and several other vessels that recalled disagreeable recollections; the 'Naseby' became the 'Royal Charles;' the 'Richard' was named the 'James,' after the Duke of York; and the 'Speaker' was called the 'Mary' in compliment to the Princess of Orange. The weather was fine, and the wind favourable; Admiral Montague requested permission to set sail. The royal family bade each other farewell, with those confused emotions which are excited by a great change of circumstances after a long series of misfortunes. The Duke of York went on board the 'London;' the Duke of Gloucester removed to the 'Swiftsure;' the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess of Orange and her son returned to the coast of Holland; and before the end of the day, the whole fleet was in full sail towards England.[1]

[1] Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 87, 88; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 41; Cla-

The passage occupied thirty-six hours; the King spent a great part of the time on deck, surrounded by the commissioners of the Parliament and the officers of the ship, chatting pleasantly with them, and taking delight in relating to them his adventures after the battle of Worcester, and the difficulties he had met with in making his escape from the kingdom to which he was now returning as a master. On the morning of the 25th of May, the fleet came in sight of Dover; an immense crowd thronged the pier, the quays, and the cliffs,—gentlemen and citizens, townspeople and country folk, on foot and on horseback, most of them from London and the surrounding counties. Monk, who loved order in everything, had directed the Cavaliers to form themselves into squadrons, under the command of the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Northampton and Cleveland, and some other distinguished noblemen. For himself, he was attended only by his confidant Morrice, his chaplain Gumble, and two or three officers. Towards noon, he proceeded to the shore, to await the arrival of the barge which he had seen put off from the 'Royal Charles,' and which contained the King and his two brothers, attended by Admiral Montague bareheaded. At the moment when the King set foot on land, Monk hastened towards him with an air of so much humility that he appeared, says one of his panegyrists, "to receive his Majesty as a malefactor would do his pardon." Charles embraced him with filial deference, and addressed him, in a tone

rendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 504; Granville Penn's Life of Sir William Penn, vol. ii. pp. 220–223; Histoire de Corneille et Jean de Witt, vol. ii. p. 189.

that could be heard by all near him, with expressions of the most affectionate gratitude. The Mayor of Dover came forward and presented the King with a richly bound Bible. "I thank you for the gift," said Charles; "it is the thing that I love above all things in the world." They advanced a few steps on foot, the King walking under a canopy, with the General by his side; but the town was too small to afford suitable accommodation for so many distinguished visitors; the King remained there only a short time, and continued his journey to Canterbury, first of all in a carriage, and afterwards on horseback, with his brothers on his right hand and Monk on his left, and a constantly increasing crowd thronging the road as he passed. He reached Canterbury in the evening, and determined to remain there for two days.[1]

The town was full of Royalists, who hastened thither from all parts, eager to be the first to see the King and to be seen by him. On the day after his arrival, Charles received them all together, with intelligent affability, going from one to another, and as he recognized them, reminding each of what he himself remembered of their common adventures. All were delighted; but for many this general audience was not enough; they begged the King to receive them in private, as they had many things to communicate to him which it was important to his interests that he should know. Charles acceded to their desire, and spent several hours in listening to the counsels and requests of his new-found friends. On his re-

[1] Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 92, 93; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 504; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 310; Gumble's Life of Monk, pp. 381–387; Warwick's Memoirs; Baker's Chronicle, p. 777.

turn to his own room, he was both wearied and vexed; he had been obliged, as he told Hyde, to hear a succession of interminable narratives of real or pretended services, and to witness an exhibition of ridiculous vanity and insensate pretensions, maintained with an insistence which bade fair to cause him insupportable embarrassments. He was still giving utterance to his displeasure when he was informed that General Monk was outside, and requested an interview. He was admitted at once, "and without any preamble or apology," says Clarendon, "as he was not a man of a graceful elocution," he told the King that he thought he could not do him a better service than by recommending to him those persons who were most grateful to the nation, and who, by reason of their talents and influence, were best able to serve him; and thereupon he gave him a paper containing a long list of names. Charles, in some perplexity, put the paper in his pocket without reading it, as he had no wish to discuss the merits of particular individuals with the General; and he merely replied that he would always be ready to receive his advice, and willing to gratify him in anything that was in accordance with the interests of his government. When Monk had taken his leave, the King called in his Chancellor, and they read the paper together; it was a list of seventy persons who, in Monk's opinion, were the most fit to form the King's Privy Council. Two old and influential Royalists, the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton, were the only members of their party who appeared on it; the heads of the Presbyterian party, the chief political leaders of the Long Parliament, the new men who had been trained to

the exercise of power under Cromwell's government, were the councillors whom Monk recommended to the King, without any regard to their origin or their past conduct, and as if the sovereign, in order to govern, had no other resource than to avoid their hostility by seeking their co-operation. Charles was disquieted and offended, and Hyde probably still more so; in these bold authors of so many popular or military revolutions, the King feared that he might find masters, and the Chancellor that he might find rivals. Apart however from all personal feeling, was it possible to restore the monarchy, if they set aside the entire monarchical party? And what an outrage it would be on the public conscience, to take no moral account of the actions of men, and of the impressions and recollections attached to their names! The King resolved not to submit to such exactions; but it was most necessary that he should repel this encroachment without offending Monk, whose power was still so great; and Hyde, on whom Charles relied to deliver him from this embarrassing position, had as yet had no personal communication with the General. He accordingly addressed himself to his confidant Morrice; the King, he said, had been greatly surprised at the paper which the General had given him; his recommendations would always have great weight, but how could the King grant his confidence to such men, until he was better acquainted with them himself? If he took them, blindly and at once, for his councillors, the public would assuredly form an unfavourable opinion of the character and judgment of the King; or else their selection would be attributed solely to the General's influence, which would be of an

equally prejudicial effect. Morrice appeared greatly troubled at this speech; the list, he said, was in his handwriting, and had been prepared by order of the General, but most certainly without any intention of causing the King the slightest embarrassment; and he would, he added, speak to Monk on the matter without delay. In about an hour, he returned to Hyde. "The General," he said, "is in great trouble upon the King's very just exception. The truth is, he has been obliged to have much communication with men of all humours and inclinations, and so had promised to do them good offices with the King; and he could not therefore avoid inserting their names in that paper, without any imagination that the King would accept them on that account. He hopes the King will do what he thinks best for his own service, whatever propositions he may at any time presume to make to his Majesty; as he cannot promise that his propositions will be always reasonable. However, he still heartily wishes that his Majesty will make choice of some of those persons whom he has named; for though he knows most of them are not his friends, he is of opinion that his service will be more advanced by admitting them than by leaving them out."[1]

Charles was relieved; he saw clearly that Monk was not likely to prove a very warm patron to those whom he protected, or a very troublesome counsellor to himself; and on the very next day, in order to give him a striking proof of the favour with which he regarded him, he bestowed on him the Order of the Garter, with which the Dukes of York and Gloucester invested him with their

[1] Clarendon's Life, vol. i. pp. 321–326.

own hands. He appointed him at the same time a member of his council, and conferred the same distinction upon Morrice, whom he made one of his Secretaries of State. The King also sent a herald-at-arms with the Garter to Admiral Montague, who had remained with the fleet in the Downs; and to give just satisfaction to the old Royalist party, he bestowed the Order also on the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton. As it was Sunday, the King attended Divine worship in Canterbury Cathedral, which had been deserted for ten years, and had fallen into a sad state of dilapidation. The people appeared eager and happy to take part once more in the service and prayers of the Anglican liturgy. The King wrote to the Houses of Parliament that, at twelve o'clock on the following Tuesday, the 29th of May, he hoped to arrive at Whitehall, where he expected to meet them; and on Monday, the 28th of May, he left Canterbury and proceeded on his journey as far as Rochester, where he passed the night, and prepared to make his entrance into London on the next day.[1]

At daybreak, the army, more than thirty thousand men strong, was drawn out in battle-array on Blackheath, where it silently awaited the coming of the King. It was sad and disquieted, but resigned to its fate: it had seen all the governments that it loved,—the Commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell, and its own dominion,—fall one after another; among its leaders, the majority, and those the greatest of them all, had gone over to the royal cause;

[1] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 504; Clarendon's Life, vol. i. p. 326; Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 387; Skinner's Life of Monk, p. 310; Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 384; Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 44; Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 95.

others, still popular among the inferior ranks, were proscribed and compelled to fly, for having formerly maintained a deadly conflict against the King. The Republican spirit, military pride, and religious ardour, were still powerful in the army; but it no longer had confidence either in those who commanded it or in itself; and bowing its head beneath the secret consciousness of its errors, it accepted the restoration of monarchy as a necessity, regarded submission to the civil power as a duty, and devoted itself to the maintenance of public order and the preservation of private interests. The King arrived, accompanied by his brothers, and attended by his staff, with Monk at its head, and by a brilliant cavalcade of volunteers elegantly dressed, and adorned with plumes and scarfs. As they pranced about in every direction, an officer, bending towards Monk, whispered in his ear, "You had none of these at Coldstream; but grasshoppers and butterflies never come abroad in frosty weather." Many men in the ranks shared in this feeling of ill-humour. But Charles was young, vivacious, and affable; he presented himself gracefully to the army; and, singularly enough, it was the anniversary of his birthday; he was just thirty years of age. He was well received; Colonel Knight, on behalf of all the regiments, presented to him an address full of the utmost protestations of loyalty, which the soldiers confirmed rather by their submissive countenance than by their acclamations. The King left Blackheath, delighted at having got through this trial satisfactorily. On arriving at St. George's Fields, he met the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, who were awaiting him

in a richly decorated tent, to offer him their address and a collation. He halted there for a few moments, and was more cordially received and felt more at his ease amid the throng of citizens than among the ranks of the army. His road from St. George's Fields to Whitehall was one continued ovation; he was preceded and followed by numerous squadrons of mounted guards and volunteers, magnificently dressed and caparisoned; the trainbands of the City and of Westminster, and the various corporations with their banners, formed a double line through which he passed; the sheriffs, the aldermen, and all the municipal officers of the City, with a host of servants in splendid liveries, crowded around him; the Lord Mayor, with Monk on his right hand and the Duke of Buckingham on his left, bore the sword before him; five regiments of cavalry formed his escort; the streets were strewn with boughs and flowers, the houses hung with flags, the windows, balconies, and roofs crowded with innumerable spectators, men and women, nobles and citizens, all in their gayest attire; the cannon of the Tower, the bells of the churches, the bands of the regiments, and the shouts of the crowd, filled the air with a deafening and joyous sound. "I stood in the Strand, and beheld it, and blessed God," says an eye-witness. "All this was done without one drop of blood shed, and by that very army which rebelled against him; but it was the Lord's doing, for such a restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity; nor was so joyful a day and so bright ever seen in this nation,

this happening when to expect or effect it was past all human policy."[1]

Charles himself expressed his delight and surprise with some little irony. "I doubt not," he said, "it has been my own fault I was absent so long, for I see no one who does not protest he has ever wished for my return."[2]

He arrived at Whitehall somewhat later than he had announced, for it was nearly seven o'clock in the evening when he reached the palace. The two Houses were awaiting him. He received them each in turn, the Lords in the great hall of the palace, and the Commons in that same banqueting-hall through which, eleven years before, the King, his father, had walked on his way to the scaffold. The two Speakers, the Earl of Manchester and Sir Harbottle Grimstone, addressed the King in speeches at once pompous and sincere, and expressive, in terms of somewhat laboured eloquence, of monarchical enthusiasm and attachment to the religion and liberties of the country. Lord Manchester more particularly explained his views with firm frankness. "Great King," he said, "give me leave to speak the confidence as well as the desires of the Peers of England. Be you the powerful defender of the true Protestant faith, the just assertor and maintainer of the laws and liberties of your subjects: so shall judgment run down like a river, and justice like a mighty stream." Charles was doubtless struck by this expression; for, in replying to Lord Manchester, he repeated it almost lite-

[1] Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 337; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. p. 504; Clarendon's Life, vol. i. p. 326; Baker's Chronicle, pp. 777, 778; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 702; Kennet's Register, p. 163; Mémoires de Madame de Motteville, vol. v. p. 77.

[2] Echard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 909.

rally. "I am so disordered by my journey," he said, "and with the noise still sounding in my ears (which I confess was pleasing to me because it expressed the affections of my people) that I am unfit at the present to make such a reply as I desire. Yet thus much I shall say unto you, that I take no greater satisfaction to myself in this my change than that I find my heart really set to endeavour by all means the restoring of this nation to freedom and happiness; and I hope by the advice of my Parliament to effect it. Of this also you may be confident, that next to the honour of God, from whom principally I shall ever own this restoration to my crown, I shall study the welfare of my people, and shall not only be a true defender of the faith, but a just assertor of the laws and liberties of my subjects." The King's answer to the House of Commons was very similar, but somewhat shorter; and he excused himself from further discourse with them on the ground of extreme fatigue. The two Houses took their leave. The King was in fact so utterly wearied that he was unable to proceed, as he had intended, to Westminster Abbey on that day, in order take part in a solemn thanksgiving service; and he ended the day which had witnessed the re-establishment of monarchy in England, by offering up his prayers to God in the reception-room at Whitehall.[1]

At the same moment, throughout the kingdom, thousands of hearts, full of joy, were also raising themselves in thanks to the Almighty, and praying Him to bless the King whom He had restored to his people. The Restora-

[1] Lords' Journals, vol. xi. p. 48; Commons' Journals, vol. viii. p. 49; Old Parliamentary History, vol. xxii. pp. 319, 320; Baker's Chronicle, p. 778.

tion of Charles the Second was, not the consequence, but the cause, of a passionate outburst of the monarchical spirit. Decimated by the civil war, ruined by confiscations, baffled in all its attempts at insurrection and conspiracy, conquered in turn by all its enemies, by the Presbyterians, the Republicans, the Cromwellians, and the soldiers,—the Royalist party had given up the conflict, but had not renounced its opinions or its hopes. At once inactive and persevering, it had suffered the rule of all successive tyrannies, whether strong or weak, glorious or disgraceful, watching them pass with anger or contempt, and waiting until God and necessity should put the King once more in the place of this chaos. While thus waiting, the Royalists found themselves joined by most of their former adversaries in succession; from conviction, from passion, from resignation, or from personal interest, the Presbyterians, the political Reformers who would not be and did not think themselves revolutionaries, a great many Cromwellians, both civilians and soldiers, and even some Republicans, took advantage of one conjuncture or another to range themselves beneath the banner of monarchy. And what was still more important, that portion of the population which had held aloof from all parties, those innumerable and unknown spectators who merely look on at political struggles, and derive from them only their emotions and their fate,—this vast mass of the people could now see safety and find hope only in the re-establishment of the monarchy. On the 29th of May, 1660, the Royalist party, which had not conquered, had not even fought, was nevertheless national and all-powerful. It was England.

England might justly think herself entitled to trust in her hopes; she was not unreasonable in her requirements; weary of great ambitions and disgusted with innovations, she only asked for security for her religion, and for the enjoyment of her ancient rights under the rule of her old laws. This the King promised her. The advisers who then possessed his confidence,—Hyde, Ormonde, Nicholas, Hertford, Southampton,—were sincere Protestants and friends of legal government. They had defended the laws during the reign of the late King. They had taken no part in any excessive assumptions of power on the part of the Crown. They had even co-operated in promoting the first salutary measures of reform which had been carried by the Long Parliament. They expressed themselves resolved, and so did the King, to govern in concert with the two Houses of Parliament. The great Council of the nation would therefore be always by the side of royalty, to enlighten and, if necessary, to restrain its action. Everything seemed to promise England the future to which her desires were limited.

But when great questions have strongly agitated human nature and society, it is not within the power of men to return, at their pleasure, into a state of repose; and the storm still lowers in their hearts, when the sky has again become serene over their heads. In the midst of this outburst of joy, confidence, and hope, in which England was indulging, two camps were already in process of formation, ardent in their hostility to each other, and destined ere long to renew, at first darkly, but soon openly, the war which seemed to be at an end.

During the exile of the sons of Charles I., one fear had

constantly preyed upon the minds of their wisest counsellors and most faithful friends; and that was lest, led astray by example and seduced by pleasure, they might adopt a creed, ideas, and manners foreign to their country, —the creed, ideas, and manners of the great Courts of the Continent. This was a natural fear, and one fully justified by the event. Charles II. and his brother the Duke of York returned, in fact, into England, the one an infidel libertine, who falsely gave himself out to be a Protestant, and the other a blindly sincere Catholic; both imbued with the principles of absolute power; both dissolute in morals, the one with elegant and heartless cynicism, the other with shocking inconsistency; both addicted to those habits of mind and life, to those tastes and vices, which render a Court a school of arrogant and frivolous corruption, which rapidly spreads its contagious influence through the higher and lower classes who hasten to the Court to imitate or serve it.

Afar from the Court, among the laborious citizens of the towns, and in the families of the landowners, farmers, and labourers of the country districts, the zealous and rigid Protestantism of the nation, with its severe strictness of manners, and that stern spirit of liberty which cares neither for obstacles nor consequences, hardens men towards themselves as well as towards their enemies, and leads them to disdain the evils which they suffer or inflict provided they can perform their duty and satisfy their passion by maintaining their right, now took refuge. The Restoration had scarcely given any glimpse of its tendencies, and yet the Puritans were already preparing to withstand it, feeling they were despised, and expecting

soon to be proscribed, but earnestly devoted, no matter at what risk or with what result, to the service of their faith and of their cause; unyielding and frequently factious sectaries, but indomitable defenders, even to martyrdom, of the Protestant religion, the moral austerity, and the liberties of their country.

On the very day after the Restoration, the Court and the Puritans were the two hostile forces which appeared at the two opposite extremities of the political arena. Entirely monopolized by its joy, the nation either did not see this, or did not care to notice it. Because it had recovered the King and the Parliament, it believed that it had reached the termination of its trials, and attained the summit of its wishes. Peoples are short-sighted. But their want of foresight changes neither their inmost hearts nor the course of their destiny; the national interests and feelings which in 1640 had caused the revolution, still subsisted in 1660, in the midst of the reaction against that revolution. The period of civil war was passed; that of Parliamentary conflicts and compromises was beginning. The sway of the Protestant religion, and the decisive influence of the country in its own government, —these were the objects which Revolutionary England had pursued. Though cursing the revolution, and calling it the rebellion, Royalist England nevertheless prepared still to pursue these objects, and not to rest until she had attained them.

ILLUSTRATIVE LETTERS.

CORRESPONDENCE OF M. DE BORDEAUX,

FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON,

WITH

CARDINAL MAZARIN AND THE COUNT DE BRIENNE.

ILLUSTRATIVE LETTERS.

BOOK III.

1.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, October 30, 1659.

My Lord,

There is as yet no Government established in England, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made for some days by the leaders of the army, and some ministers of the Council of State, to agree to one. They had indeed projected to form a secret council, with a senate of seventy, and to recall the Parliament to make it authorize this establishment, revoke the Acts of the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of September, provide for the payment of the troops, and pass some regulations. But at the meeting which was held yesterday evening at the house of the Speaker of this body, for the purpose of concerting these propositions with the members, before restoring the power into their hands, they could not agree, the greater number refusing to receive orders from the army: already even many of them have retired, as well as nine members of the Council. The others continue to meet: one of their principal cares has been to dispose the judges to perform their functions, and they will sit until the twentieth of next month, Parliament having given them permission only until that time. The Council of War has, meanwhile, made Lambert Major-General of all the forces, and Colonel Desborough, the uncle of the last Protector, Commissary-General of the cavalry; it has also sent messengers into Scotland, Ireland, and all the

garrisons, to make sure of the commanders, or to dispose them to yield. Some doubt whether Generals Monk and Ludlow will change their views so easily, and there even appears to be considerable difference of opinion among the officers who are in London; one party is inclined to maintain the Republican government, and opposes the resolutions which Lambert wishes to have adopted. He nevertheless possesses great influence; and Vane, who has a great following among the Sectaries, is entirely united with him. To them alone can the present revolution be attributed, and the Parliament, by attempting to destroy them, has raised them to power. If it had shown less bitterness against Lambert, and had treated the other officers with consideration, they would never have been induced to dissolve the Parliament; but its destiny decreed that it should fall into the same errors that ruined the Protector, by putting too much confidence in a few regiments, instead of considering that, in all these commotions, the troops of England have avoided divisions, and that the minority has always given way to the majority, whatever cause the latter may have embraced: for which both deserve praise, as union is alone capable of securing them against the general hatred of the whole nation, which endures a military government with regret, and yet has not courage to make an effort to free itself from its yoke; never was the nation more tranquil than it is at present, although the conjuncture seems favourable for all sorts of enterprises. The Royalists content themselves with circulating the declaration of their King which was prepared during Sir George Booth's insurrection, together with a letter to Lambert, inviting him to embrace the Royal cause, and to restore repose to his country; they also spread a rumour that France and Spain are resolved to support the restoration of the King. This, my Lord, is the present state of England, which cannot be said to be very settled.

I do not learn that any news has been received from the North, and I have only to inform your Eminence that the

bankers, losing patience, have protested my bills of exchange, and that I cannot get out of this difficulty, unless you will be pleased to give the order which you have given me reason to expect, for the payment of my salary. It is with much regret that I find myself obliged again to importune you upon this subject, and to represent to you that my services, during the last twelve years, in ruinous employments, put it out of my power to subsist in England without help from the King.

2.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, November 3, 1659.

My Lord,

The two letters with which your Eminence has honoured me, bearing date on the 6th and 14th of last month, were only delivered to me to-day. I had previously surmised, from public rumour and the coolness of the late government of England, the jealousies which the passage of the King and the Duke of York had excited; and at the audience which the Council of State granted me a few days before the dissolution of the Parliament, I did all in my power to persuade them that neither his Majesty nor your Eminence were aware of the King's passage, but that it was a surprise easy enough of execution in an open country, and at a time when the frontiers were not so strictly guarded as during the war. The reserve with which the Ministers of State have continued to act towards me led me still to doubt that they had put so much confidence in my words as in some letters they have intercepted, and advices they have received, among others from Talbot, formerly a Jesuit, which declare that there is a connection between France and Spain for the re-establishment of the Royal family, and that ambassadors are to be sent to make proposals for that object; but after what it has pleased your Eminence to make known to me, I cannot attribute the distrust that is affected

to anything but a design to retain the army in its allegiance by suggesting fears of a foreign enemy, as there is no adversary at home who can give the least umbrage now that Booth is defeated; if it appears to me that these suspicions are true, I will not fail to seek an opportunity of disabusing the minds of the new government, and letting them know the truth. The little correspondence which I have had with the ministers of the Council of State since all these rumours have been afloat, has not permitted me to discover their dispositions with respect to peace with Spain; but it is certain that the Parliament desired it, and did not even care about retaining Dunkirk. Vane, who has been caballing to obtain the direction of foreign affairs, may have had other views, to which may be referred the complaints which have been published, of the reception which Don Louis de Haro had given to Mr. Lockhart; as the same faction is still in power, it cannot be divined whether the change of government will lead them to adopt other views; but it will be advisable enough to make known both the feeling of Spain and the care which your Eminence has bestowed on the advancement of this peace, if the advices which the above-named ambassador cannot but have given on the subject are kept as secret as they have been hitherto. As to the inclinations here with regard to the pacification of the North, they have always appeared to me to be in tolerable conformity to those of the Dutch; and all correspondence with me on this subject has been interrupted since the King of Sweden has refused the treaty projected at the Hague, and the ambassador of Holland has intimated that his Majesty still continued to assist that Prince. I have not failed to speak of this to the Council, but without having as yet received any answer, which convinces me that their design is not to favour the conquest of Denmark; not only could this not be done without offending the States-General, who are treated with great consideration, but it is not thought to be for the interest of England that the King of Sweden should be the

master of the whole Baltic Sea; his conduct towards the plenipotentiaries of England also gave proof of such great pride that the increase of his power cannot but excite jealousy; and it does not seem that anything is to be expected from this government, except that it will not combine with the States-General for his ruin, a promise to which effect it will not be difficult to obtain if once the English government can be persuaded that the King will not support the return of the Royal family: otherwise, it would show any amount of complaisance to the Dutch. I find the Swedish ministers full of hope that the new government will be more favourable to them, because Lieutenant-General Fleetwood is tolerably well-intentioned; but Vane has great influence, and he seems to me to incline greatly towards the Dutch; wherefore the consideration of France alone can change resolutions here; however, most people are persuaded that whatever countenance the King of Sweden may assume, his inclination is altogether averse from peace, unless it makes him master of all the Danish isles; and one of the English plenipotentiaries has written to me lately in terms which do not permit me to hold any other opinion, or to attribute the resumption of the treaty to anything but a design to amuse the mediators until the season for action is past, and his Majesty has given an answer to the demands which the Swedish envoy was sent to make of him: as these demands may lead to the execution of the plan already formed for sending an embassy to the Emperor, and as henceforward there will be no great affairs to treat with England, if your Eminence should deem me fit for that employment, I should joyfully prefer it to the continuation of my residence in this country, and should endure with less impatience the postponement of marriage in that service than in idleness. I nevertheless submit this idea to the will of your Eminence, feeling confident that you will grant me that which may most contribute to my elevation. It now remains for me, in order to satisfy the wish that your Eminence has to be exactly informed

of the state of England, to report to you that the principal officers of the army, and some ministers of the Council of State, after different propositions and overtures of accommodation with the Parliament, which met with no success, have at last resolved, on the day before yesterday, to establish a council of twenty-three persons, of whom ten are Colonels, three citizens of London, and the rest members of the preceding Council or of that of the Protector. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Sir Harry Vane, are the most distinguished members of this body, and those who apparently will have all the authority, the others being persons neither possessed of a talent for governing, nor even summoned for that purpose, but only to make up the number. It is said that their establishment is merely provisional, and until they have chosen a larger number. This small body might easily continue to govern, if it is approved of by all the troops; it was to be recognized to-day by a Council of War composed of the officers who are in London; and in all probability the others will follow this example, although Monk, who is not one of these new ministers, has latterly again renewed the assurance of his fidelity to the Parliament, which he believed still existed, and at the same time replied to Major-General Lambert, that he could not make the officers under his command subscribe the propositions which those in England had presented to the Parliament, as they were more fitted to cause division than to maintain union in the army. His letters were immediately published, and seem to have hastened the establishment of this Senate, in order that the officers in Scotland, seeing that a government is formed, and the Parliament dissolved, may abandon the idea of taking its part. The Commandant in Ireland is also thought to be a great Republican; nevertheless he has been made a member of the Council, and it is thought that, as he is an Anabaptist, he will be more easily converted. If these hopes are not vain, the present government will last, although one more disagreeable

to the nation could not be formed; and those even who composed it appear to disapprove of it. But Vane and Lambert could not maintain their authority in any other government, and as they have more genius than the others, they have engaged most of the officers so deeply against the Parliament, that it became necessary for them to form this new Council. There has been no other change but that of the Chancellors. But Mr. Bradshaw, who presided at the King's trial, refuses to give up the Seals to any one but the Parliament; and, as he is on the point of death, his decease is waited for in order to obtain them. There has also been a proposition made to the prisoners in the Tower of London to discharge them from all prosecution, in consideration of the payment of a million sterling, which they might easily recover from all those concerned in the late insurrection; but they do not think themselves strong enough to enter into such an undertaking. My Lord Faulconbridge is not one of this number; for he was set at liberty some days ago. The army has received some money to-day, and has put forth a kind of declaration to justify the interruption of the Parliament, the crime of which is that it desired to perpetuate itself in the possession of authority, and that it had done nothing which had been stipulated for before its recall. But, in reality, its unmeasured antagonism to Lambert and some other officers of the army was the cause of this measure being adopted, the authors of which now perceive that they will never be able to assemble a Parliament more favourable to them, and that, without a body bearing that name, no money can be raised from the people, and no solid establishment formed. All these revolutions fill the Royalists with hopes; in fact, never were minds more disunited; and, according to appearances, the leaders of the army will not be long without becoming jealous of one another, and the petty officers will do the same. The people also are persuaded that the return of the King is alone capable of restoring repose to England; they nevertheless wait very tranquilly for the issue of these

divisions, and the nobility are so degenerated that they will not recover their courage until they see a party formed and disposed to embrace the interests of the Royal family.)

3.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, November 6, 1659.

My Lord,

Since the letter which I did myself the honour to write to your Eminence on the 3rd of this month, no great progress has been made in the establishment of the government of England, and we can still speak of it with only very little certainty, since the letters which arrived from Scotland on the evening of the day before yesterday, assure us that General Monk persists in his resolution in favour of the Parliament, and that the news of its dissolution had no sooner reached him than he assembled the officers of his troops, declared to them his intentions, and, having found that their opinions were conformable to his own, ordered them to hold themselves in readiness to march. It is even said that he arrested some Anabaptist officers who were less inclined to follow him than to accommodate themselves to the desires of the army. This information caused the despatch from hence yesterday morning of his brother-in-law and a Colonel with some propositions, and in the evening another messenger was sent to declare to him that it had been determined to give him battle if he cannot be brought to hear reason; it has already been even proposed to go and meet him, and decide the quarrel promptly; but he is too far advanced to draw back, and threats do not seem likely to alarm him, as he is a very determined man. His troops may be more tractable, and prefer reconciliation to the uncertain issue of a battle; this is also the principal reliance of the army in England. Letters were received at the same time from Colonel Overton, the Governor of Hull, and from his garrison, representing them to be very firmly re-

solved to support the interests of the Parliament. It is known however that they will easily agree to an accommodation. As to the Commandant in Ireland, the news of the dissolution of the Parliament reached him while he was in England, and he immediately returned to the coast in order to re-embark; as he is a great Republican, and moreover indebted to the Parliament for his re-establishment in the army, many are persuaded that he will follow Monk's example, although he is an Anabaptist and a member of the new Council. The officers would, in that case, have a great deal of business on their hands, and would find considerable difficulty in defending so odious a cause as theirs is, without mentioning that they are not too closely united among themselves; jealousy already begins to show itself between the leaders, and was manifested pretty openly in the nomination of the ministers of the new Council; Fleetwood and Lambert wishing to compose it of their friends, when the list was brought before the Council of War for approbation, the subaltern officers wished to reject six, and to substitute an equal number of the most notorious Millenarians or Saints in the whole nation, among whom was Major-General Harrison, whom I have often mentioned before, and whom the Parliament, a few days before its expulsion, had declared incapable of any employment in the State. This new choice might perhaps have been admitted but for the Scottish schism, which led the Council of War yesterday evening to confirm the first list, for fear any change should produce some division among themselves. It is nevertheless certain that the cabal of the Millenarians prevails in the army, among whom Mr. Lambert is greatly decried for having no religion, or show of it, in which last alone he differs from the most of them. His reputation still maintains him in credit in the minds of the soldiers, and most honest persons in the army; and the number of these being small, his position is tolerably precarious, as well as is that of the Republic, the forces of which are divided into two parties, some being friends

of the Parliament, and the others of those who dissolved it. These last are again very different in their sentiments. The Millenarians and Anabaptists wish to keep the Government to themselves, and Fleetwood inclines to their side; Lambert and his faction, perceiving that they are lost if the executive authority falls into the hands of these Sectaries, and being no less ambitious, are striving to render themselves the masters. Until this moment this has been done only by means of intrigue; but if the army of Scotland came to an accommodation, probably there would occur some other division, and many imagine that Lambert will at length, if he loses all hope of prevailing, treat with the King of England. Others think that Monk is not less disposed to take this side, and even that, unless he had already entered into some engagement, he would not so freely have declared himself, or have left Scotland, his departure with his troops giving that nation every facility to revolt. It is further remarked that his last letter speaks indeed of shedding his blood, even to the last drop, for the Parliament of England, but without indicating whether he means that one which has just been dissolved. These are reflections upon which no very positive measures should be taken, and we can only state that circumstances remain very favourable for the return of that party to power, whose leaders are least opposed to a monarchical Government, and who, as they took no part in the death of the late King, will more easily put confidence in the promises which may be made them on the part of the present sovereign. Their greatest difficulty would be, if they were willing to embrace his cause, to influence in his favour the troops under their command, and this is not to be hoped for until they are thoroughly engaged, the one against the other; to which they have hitherto shown so much repugnance, that a reconciliation might even take place at the expense of their leaders. Yesterday again, in addition to the dispute as to the persons of whom the present Council should be composed, there was a great debate regarding their

authority; and at last it was agreed that this body shall have the direction of affairs under the title of the Committee of Safety (otherwise, commissioners to watch over the safety of the Commonwealth); that it shall consider the form of government that shall be established, and shall confer thereupon, if necessity requires, with the principal officers of the army and others, and shall make its report within six weeks; that, in general, it shall have the same power that the Council of State had, and in particular, power to order the trial of the late insurgents, to treat of the sale or ransom of their property, to suppress all insurrections, to grant indemnity to those who have served the State since 1641, to raise the militia in the provinces under the command of General Fleetwood, to put places and offices in good hands, and to treat with foreign States and Princes. This deliberation did not end until midnight, and propositions without number were made, among others, one to divide England into four parts, and to distribute those parts among those who are of different opinions in religion. These are the ideas of a few zealots who are not strongly backed; it was also proposed that, if the new Committee did not agree upon a government within six weeks, the Council of War should undertake the matter; it already has so large a share in the business that this would be no great difference, and whatever establishment is resolved upon, the army will not strip itself of all authority. Its present aim is to form a Senate of seventy members, with equal power with the Parliament in some matters, and to be convoked at the same time. I shall be able to write with more certainty on this point in a few days; meanwhile, I have nothing to add except that tranquillity prevails among the people in the midst of this interregnum, that the Courts of Justice (except the Chancery) have been opened this week, and that the new Mayor of London is to take the oaths in two days; only he has been instructed to omit from this ceremony certain shows which usually collect the people together. It was asserted that

Mr. Lockhart had been sent for, but that the courier who was despatched to him at the beginning of the revolution, took him other orders. He will doubtless have anticipated my letters, as the posts have been stopped; for fear that the present letter may have met with the same fate, I shall send it by an express as far as Calais, in order that your Eminence may be the earlier informed of the state of affairs in this country.

4.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO MARSHAL TURENNE.

London, November 10, 1659.

My Lord,

As the last letter which I did myself the honour to write to you cannot but have awakened in you some curiosity to know the consequences of the change which has taken place in England, I will tell you that it has produced a division between the troops here, and those in Scotland. General Monk has openly declared for the Parliament, and invited the whole nation to join with him for the maintenance of so lawful a cause; he at the same time arrested those officers who were opposed to his designs, and has made himself master of the two most important places on the Scottish side of the English frontier. This news has led to the adoption of a resolution here to send a force to give him battle, and the troops set out on their march to-day. Major-General Lambert will take the command of this expedition also, the success of which is a matter for consideration. The Governor of Hull, a very important place, at first appeared to hold the same views as Monk, but he has since made submission. The Irish Commandant has arrived in London, and appears opposed to the army, which may lead to his being detained here, where a Council of twenty-seven persons has at last been established to govern the country, and to prepare, in concert with the officers of the army, a form of government within six weeks, which is then

to be presented and approved by the army, which apparently will not be willing to strip itself of all authority.

5.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, November 10, 1659.

My Lord,

I shall continue to inform your Eminence of the sequel of the divisions of England. Since the letter which I did myself the honour to write to you by the preceding post, news has come from Scotland which confirms the report that Monk persists in his intention to re-establish the Parliament; that he has arrested all the officers of his troops who held other views, even a Colonel who had been sent to him from hence; that the garrisons of Berwick, Carlisle, and another fortified castle on the frontier of England have declared for him; and that finally, he is taking every measure to strengthen himself. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood has, at the same time, received his declaration in conformity with these advices; he has also written to the churches in the same terms, promising them assistance for the maintenance of their prerogatives. This proceeding has caused the Council of War to come to a resolution to send an army of eight thousand men to give him battle, or at least to arrest his progress; and on this very day there has left London a body of infantry and cavalry drawn from the veteran troops, whose place will be supplied by new levies. Major-General Lambert will again command in this expedition, it having been judged that General Fleetwood was more necessary in town to maintain peace. Monk having in all Scotland only nine regiments of infantry and three of cavalry, will not be able to bring so many forces into the field as will be sent against him, unless he makes new levies or ungarrisons all the towns of Scotland; which would make him suspected by his troops of an understanding with the King of

England, and would entirely alienate them, their inclination tending more towards a republic than towards any other form of government. Mild measures are at the same time being practised to influence them, and there took place yesterday, at the instance of the officers here, a meeting of ministers, which resulted in their sending them four deputies, two of whom are Colonels, who were cashiered when the Parliament was restored: It is not an easy thing to divine what will be the success of this deputation, as this leader is very popular, and has now advanced too far to draw back. It is feared here that he will join the King's party if he does not feel himself strong enough, and that he has even already formed the plan of doing so, and only makes use of the name of the Parliament to secure his troops, for he cannot have the preservation of that body so much at heart as to go to war on its account. Besides that, it is so agreeable a cause that he should wait until no one is willing to authorize it, or he alone is able to defend it, the army in England being united, as it now appears, and there being only the Governor of Hull whose inclinations are doubtful. Great umbrage has been caused by the conduct of the Commandant of Ireland; he has arrived in London, and he will not be permitted to leave again. If the troops in Ireland do not follow his inclinations, and if those in England remain constant to those which they at present exhibit, it will be necessary for Monk either to come to an accommodation or to seek assistance elsewhere. This last step would be very easy to him, the Scotch and English being quite disposed to revolt, but he must use great address in order to deceive his troops; and although, according to public report, they are said to be very averse to a reconciliation, they will with difficulty be induced to fight against each other. It is also hoped here, that, Lambert being on the spot, his presence will give courage to those whom the fear of evil treatment prevents from declaring themselves in favour of the army; otherwise the war will be indefinitely prolonged, as neither the season nor the forces of

England permit the undertaking of sieges in a very wild country, although some artillery has been embarked upon the Thames. I have thought it right, in this doubtful conjuncture, to inform General Fleetwood that if my intervention could possibly contribute to reunion, I would exert myself with all the zeal which might be expected from the known affection of his Majesty to England. He has this evening sent to thank me for this offer, without either declining or accepting it, excusing himself by the great perplexity of affairs, for not having come in person to express to me the gratitude which the Government could not but feel for a civility which it has not received from any other foreign minister. There is no inconvenience connected with being the first to take such a step as cannot fail to obtain the thanks of both parties; I nevertheless did not address myself to the Committee, so that my offer might not be made public; and, up to this hour, no notification has been sent to me of its establishment, which took place at the end of last week without much ceremony. Part of the ministers chosen having met in the room generally used by the Council, a Colonel brought and read to them the declaration of the army. Sir Harry Vane and two others asked time to consider whether they should act, taking as a pretext for this postponement that this commission gave them a legislative power which belonged only to the Parliament. Lambert wished to remove this scruple; but his reasons did not prevent them from retiring, and they have not presented themselves again to-day; whence we may infer that they are in doubt about the stability of the present government, and apprehend that Monk will prevail; it being certain that these same persons were at first for the dissolution of the Parliament, and that they would not now make any difficulty about taking their seats, unless they apprehended its return, or the establishment of some authority which would prosecute them for having taken part in the government without any legitimate title for so doing. By the retirement of Sir H. Vane, this

assembly finds itself greatly destitute of capable persons, and there only remains Lambert, who must set out in two days, probably not to return very soon. The Council of War does not cease to meet at the same time, and it has put forth a new declaration, promising a government without any King, Lords, or single person; it has also repealed the Acts which the Parliament passed three days before its dissolution; and with good reason, because they revoked all the taxes. After the month of December, if these divisions continued, the people might well avail themselves of so good an excuse to pay none at all; nevertheless, at present there is entire tranquillity, and all men await the decision of this quarrel with great anxiety: the new Mayor of London has even, under the pretext that it would be showing too much fear to do otherwise, taken his oaths with as much magnificence as his predecessors, although he was desired to omit some public representations in order to avoid collecting crowds of the people. This conduct is attributed to his inclination towards the Royalist party. The Judges also have of late days not failed to grant their liberty to prisoners of State according to the terms of the law of the country, and no difficulty was interposed in the way of the execution of their orders. The Committee even intends, in order to prevent similar applications, to liberate all who were not taken with arms in their hands. Such, my Lord, is all that has come to my knowledge about affairs here: I do not learn that anything has occurred in reference to foreign affairs, except that the ambassador of Holland has this day had audience of the Committee, and urged the execution of the articles signed at the Hague on the 4th of August: but the present crisis does not permit me to believe that any resolution will just now be adopted in regard to an affair of so much importance, and I am making preparations to present the same memorandum which I laid before the Council of State a few days before its suppression, in order to inform it of his Majesty's views on this question.

6.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, November 17, 1659.

My Lord,

I shall not have to write to you to-day of the reunion of the army; there appears rather a disposition to an entire rupture, as the last advices received here state that the troops in Scotland have, with great demonstrations of joy, promised Monk to live and die with him, and that on his part he has given them reason to hope for the payment of their arrears, and has since detached some troops to take possession of Newcastle, a large town without fortifications, from whence is obtained all the coal used in England, which would render its capture very prejudicial, especially to London. Some of his letters to other towns have also been intercepted, in which he invited them to join his party, and represented London to be well-disposed towards him. To counteract these measures, Major-General Lambert set out post-haste three days ago, leaving the army in march, but without hoping that it could make haste enough to secure the frontier towns, if they had any inclination to join the said General Monk. In order to divert them from this by the example of the London militia, this body has also been requested to write a letter to that leader, inviting him to make peace. But the greater part of the assembly had not yet judged it fitting to show any partiality, and seem desirous to put off a declaration until it shall more certainly appear what is his design. The public voice has maintained, during the last few days, that he is in communication with the King of England, and his enemies affect to fear something of the kind. Nevertheless, the Republicans defend him from this charge, and declare that his sole object is to re-establish the Parliament. He has moreover written to the army here, in conformity with this statement. Nevertheless, whether his words do not meet with credence, or whether he judges that necessity may lead him to adopt other

sentiments; and that, if the war continues, a third party may be formed in England, new levies are being made. This precaution is the more necessary, because the City of London is beginning to hold the same views as the militia, and to change the officers whom the Parliament appointed; and some of the most influential citizens even talk of having a free Parliament. If Monk used the same language, he would be more readily supported; whence it follows that all sorts of means are employed to gain either him or his troops. With this view, the committee has appointed a sub-committee to form a government which shall meet the wishes of all parties, and disengage them honourably from the step they have taken. Sir Harry Vane has consented to be of the number of these subdelegated commissioners, although he does not publicly engage in other matters of State; but some others who had felt scruples about acting in virtue of a commission given them by the army, have become more bold; and last week there was published an act of this assembly, which continues all the officers and civil magistrates in the performance of their duties, and orders the payment of the taxes already imposed, under penalty of having to give free quarters to the soldiers. This threat has been considered extraordinary, and has given the discontented a pretext for finding fault with the present condition of England. But the Council of War feels no alarm at this, and has lately even been upon the point of suppressing tithes and the Court of Chancery, as being both a burden to the people and very unnecessary; if the wishes of the subaltern officers had been attended to, this reform would have been accomplished. The leaders must find it inconvenient to offend so many people at the present conjuncture, the sequel of which cannot clearly be foreseen; only it is probable that, if there is no secret understanding with the King of England, the quarrel will soon come to an end, and the troops will reunite, as neither are at all desirous to come to conflict with each other, and those in England have been entirely at union since the Governor

of Hull rejected the propositions made him by Monk, to which rejection their private enmity greatly contributed. There is nothing said about Ireland which should excite jealousy, nor about the affairs of England.

7.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, November 20, 1659.

My Lord,

The general feeling to-day appears very different to that which I described in my preceding letters. At the beginning of the week, the City of London seemed very discontented, and even inclined to press the army for a free Parliament; it had also refused to write the letter to General Monk which it was requested to send, and the people daily insulted the troops, and particularly some regiments of Sectaries who went on guard every night. These bad humours are now dissipated, and it is said that the Mayor has promised to permit nothing that may disturb the public tranquillity, or prejudice the present government; and that this agreement has been made upon condition that those Sectaries, against whom the people are greatly enraged, shall no longer be employed to guard the town; the council of citizens adopted this resolution yesterday, and having communicated it to the committee, its terms were agreed to. At the very moment when the affair was being deliberated, there arrived letters from Monk which caused no less joy; they represent him to be disposed to treat, and he is to send four officers to manage this negotiation, of the success of which no one doubts. There is also news that his troops have not presented themselves before Newcastle, and that those which had approached that town retired to Berwick, where the garrison declared in Monk's favour; as regards Carlisle and Tynemouth, which it was thought had followed the same example, because Haslerig's regiment was in garrison

there, they have not yet declared themselves; and there appears to be complete union among the troops in England, which will doubtless abate the confidence of the others, founded upon the conviction which they entertained that some regiments here were in favour of restoring the Parliament. Mention has been again made of this, in the Council of War, during the last few days, as a means for settling all differences, and it would have been resolved upon if forty members of that body had been found well-intentioned towards the army. Now that Monk has changed his views, this idea will be rejected, and the committee will complete the work it has begun. It is even asserted that it has already determined on a form of government composed of a council of fifty, which will summon another of two hundred, and name the members to the people, leaving them only liberty to choose them out of four hundred candidates who will be brought forward; this second body is to be changed once in every three years, and every year ten of the council of fifty will go out of office to make room for ten others to be chosen from among the two hundred. This plan has not yet been published, and before it appears, there may probably be some changes introduced into it, as the reunion or division of the army cannot but serve as a rule for the resolutions of the present Government.

8.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, November 24, 1659.

My Lord,

The letters which General Monk wrote last week, were followed, three days afterwards, by his officers: these are three officers of different corps who arrived in London the day before yesterday, and have to-day begun their conferences with the leaders of the army. They had, on their way, seen my Lord General Lambert, and their propositions must have ap-

peared reasonable to him, as he immediately halted his troops according to their desire. It is said that they are charged to insist principally upon the recall of the old Parliament, or the convocation of a new one, on the maintenance of the ancient laws of the nation, and on the support of the ministers by the ordinary mode, that is, by tithes. The last two points seem to be ill-received by the Sectaries, who wish to employ the tithes for other purposes, and establish another fund for the support of the ministers. They also have it very much at heart to change many of the laws; but as for the Parliament, there will be no difficulty in obtaining it, provided that it be with such restrictions that the people shall not be able to elect persons opposed to the Republican government, and that there shall also be established, at the same time, a senate with equal power in some cases; it is even said that the committee resolved to convoke this body instead of the assembly of two hundred which was projected, and it is not probable that any of these conditions will be refused to the troops in Scotland, if they can thereby be brought to union. Some are persuaded that Monk is not treating in good faith, and that he is advancing his demand in order to gain time, and to render his cause more popular, in the hope that they will not be granted; nevertheless, the most general opinion is that he really intends to come to an accommodation, seeing no likelihood of success for the cause which he maintains, since the army in Ireland has refused to join him: besides he is not a man to pursue a course of conduct so utterly at variance with his views, and his troops would quickly abandon him if they had the least suspicion of any understanding with the King's party, without whose assistance he cannot maintain himself against the whole army. It is true that the Presbyterians would readily join him, if the existing authorities were to persecute them; but whatever their inclination may be, it will not be manifested in the present conjuncture, and it was only three days ago that, in order to calm the minds of the citizens of London, who appeared

still to apprehend a change in religion, General Fleetwood, Colonel Desborough, and Mr. Whitelocke went to the Guild-hall, and delivered three harangues in different style. The first professed entire disinterestedness of the army, and promised that no prejudice should be done to either the liberties of the nation or the government of religion. The second spoke in terms more military, and more in conformity with his rather stern character, declaring that they had not come to flatter the town, that the army would never put itself in a position of dependence upon those whom it had conquered, and that it would rather support the Sectaries than suffer the adoption of any resolution to its prejudice. The last, who is now Keeper of the Seal, exhorted the company to union and peace, for the maintenance of which are posted, in the principal places, troops, but not Sectaries. The Mayor is very active, manifesting by his conduct his wish that no tumult should take place; for such would be doubtless followed by great confusion, as the people are not of the same mind, and the Sectaries find themselves sufficiently numerous, together with the rest of the army, to balance the power of the other citizens; a state of things which will keep the former in their duty until the negotiation has met with some success; but if fortune decreed that it should not produce an accommodation, the town would probably give some trouble to the present Government, which is still occupied with home affairs. Last week, it received news of the peace by the courier whom Mr. Lockhart sent back; he is himself to arrive in London this evening to give an account of his negotiation. Meanwhile it has been printed that France has abandoned England and Portugal; this junction of the two countries shows that entire satisfaction is not felt here about the treaty. I shall defer speaking of this matter until orders have been sent me. I have nothing to add to my previous letters regarding the interests of Sweden, no news having since arrived from thence; nor indeed, have I anything to say on any other affair.

9.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, November 27, 1659.

My Lord,

The last letters which I had the honour to write to your Eminence will have informed you of the dispositions which prevailed here with regard to an accommodation between the troops. These appearances were not deceitful, for a treaty was concluded twenty-four hours after. The deputies from Scotland were from the first so well satisfied with the Government which the Committee had projected, that they no longer insisted upon the recall of the old Parliament, and immediately agreed to forget all causes of discontent, to pass an act of indemnity for all that had been done on either side, to set at liberty the officers whom Monk had arrested, and to assemble at Newcastle fourteen deputies of the two armies to settle the claims of those who have lately been cashiered or suspended, both in England and Scotland; that the pretended rights of the King of England and his family shall be disclaimed; that the three nations shall be governed in the form of a Free State, or of a Republic without either a King, a House of Lords, or any single ruler; that there shall be established a Council of nineteen persons, ten of whom shall be moderate Presbyterians, nominated by Monk's deputies and the army here, and the other nine chosen from the three armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; that altogether, or at least nine of them, shall regulate the qualifications of those who may be elected by the people to hold the Parliament; that there shall also be convoked an assembly of two officers from each regiment, one from each garrison, and ten from the navy, to whom the proposed form of government shall be presented for deliberation on the 16th of next month. It has also been resolved that the Universities shall be so well maintained and reformed that they may become schools of learning and piety. These are the articles which appear. As for the model of the

Government, although it is said to have been approved of, it has not yet been published. The agreement had no sooner been signed by the Commissioners of the two armies than it was presented to the general council of officers, and, after some discussion, confirmed. Two copies of it were forthwith despatched yesterday to Generals Lambert and Monk, who had begun their march; and during the evening the cannon of the Tower of London solemnized this reconciliation, which many thought would have been more difficult than it has proved; but they had little reason for such an opinion, there being no likelihood that the interest of the old Parliament could maintain a division, which would undoubtedly have ruined both parties, even though it had lasted only a short time. The people of London were daily becoming more arrogant,—even to refusing the payment of the ordinary taxes,—under pretext that the Parliament had revoked them all two days before its dissolution. This refusal obliged the army to send soldiers with the collectors, and no disorder ensued therefrom. It has also been found necessary to change the greater number of the officers of the city militia, as the old ones were not found to be well-disposed; and the militia of Westminster refused to arm at the orders of the Committee. If the army here met with some opposition, Monk was not exempt from trouble and mistrust of the constancy of his troops, several companies of which have disbanded: thus both were in some degree compelled to an agreement; and by their treaty the power will remain in the hands of the leaders, since the Government is to be composed of a Senate which they will choose; that this body will convoke Parliaments when they are needed; will have a *veto* upon them, in regard to affairs of religion and government, and will even propose to them the matters upon which they will have to deliberate. It is also said that the tithes will be employed for other purposes than the support of ministers, for whom another provision will be made, and that many other regulations are to be intro-

duced into the administration of justice. As the people of England are greatly displeased with all the revolutions which have happened, and as the new project in some measure preserves their prerogatives, in that it leaves to the Parliaments the powers which they possessed under the Kings, whom the Senate will represent, we have reason to believe that the present establishment will be stable, although the Sectaries have more share in it than the Presbyterians, whom they will doubtless try to keep out of the Parliament. It will not, nevertheless, be easy to stifle the jealousies of the leaders; and if fear of the Royal family, or the impressions which are prevalent that France and Spain have resolved to undertake its Restoration, have caused union at the present moment, as soon as these fears are dissipated new causes of disunion will very probably arise.

I saw Mr. Lockhart to-day, and he appeared to me persuaded that the King had no intention of interfering in the affairs of England; he will doubtless have spoken in the same strain to the heads of the Government, and dissipated their suspicions, if they are real. The said ambassador has also returned me thanks, on the part of Mr. Fleetwood, for the mediation which I offered him at the time when the issue of the division was very uncertain. I did not think it my duty, in the present conjuncture, to change my tone, neither did I think fit to discuss any other affair. Nothing is said regarding foreign affairs; only advices have been received from Portugal which mention the defection of the Duke d'Aveiro; and the ambassador from that nation to the United Provinces was, a few days ago, anchoring in the Downs; he must by this time have reached the Hague, whence Mr. Downing, the English resident, has returned hither.

10.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, December 5, 1659.

My Lord,

I have received the two letters which your Eminence was pleased to write to me on the 4th and 14th of last month; the latter would oblige me to enter into some self-justification if it had not been already perceived by you that I have not failed to send you information by every post of what was going on in England, and that the posts have for a long while been closed; so that even the first despatches which were written after the rupture of the Parliament were detained here. I might have obviated these difficulties by sending an express and obtaining passage for him, if the revolution which has occurred had appeared to me important enough to change any plans that may be formed in France with regard to England; but until Monk's sentiments became known, no other opinion could be formed of this government, because, ever since the time when the Parliament was sitting, it has had all authority, and its union or division must serve as the foundation for any measures that may be taken regarding the affairs of England. My preceding despatches will have informed your Eminence with tolerable exactness of the state of affairs in England during last week, and led you to expect a complete reunion of all the forces after the accommodation upon which the deputies of both parties had agreed; this is still the wish and the hope of the leaders of the army. Nevertheless, a short time after that treaty had been signed, the deputies from Scotland received orders to insist upon the recall of the old Parliament, and to demand that the command in Scotland should be separated from that in England. It has also become known that Monk has called together deputies from all the provinces and towns which are under his government. Some of his letters furthermore represent him as resolved to prolong rather than to conclude the war; and one was deli-

vered yesterday to the City of London on his behalf, in which he professed that his sole intention was to have a free Parliament, and to deliver the nation from its present state of slavery, and invited the people to assist him. Some of the company wished to prevent its being opened; but, as they were in a minority, the letter was read, and immediately the Mayor, under pretext that it was late, adjourned the meeting. He has also written to other towns in the same terms; and although this was done before the General had been informed of the treaty, his conduct has not failed to excite apprehensions that he has changed his views, that the English Presbyterians have given him fresh courage, and that, flattered with the hope of becoming the leader of this most considerable party, he will reject the agreement, the retardation of which can produce none but bad consequences, as the mind of the whole nation is strongly inclined to throw off the yoke of the army, and the people are excited, as much by the old Parliamentarians as by the other factions, to refuse to pay the taxes, in order to compel the soldiers, by want of pay, to mutiny and join Monk. The Presbyterians are, at the same time, striving to gain over the others; and I learn that, during the last few days, their principal men have held some meetings in London, in order to seek out some way of accommodation which will be advantageous to the King. Besides the cabals of the enemies of the present Government, there are, in the army, several conflicting interests. Fleetwood, Lambert, and the Sectaries, who are headed by Vane, are each desirous of obtaining the chief power. The first party is now the strongest. Sir Harry Vane talks of retiring from public affairs, as his advice is no longer followed. Lambert will not leave so easily: he is reputed to have credit enough to draw over to his side a portion of the army, and to be ambitious enough to seek his aggrandisement from the King, if he cannot see his way clear to become, in time, the head of the Republic, or at least of all its forces; he is, therefore, greatly caressed by the Royalists,

whom he has latterly treated with great consideration. Those of them whom I have seen are more full of hope than they have ever before appeared, and flatter themselves that the accommodation will be rejected. The opposite party has also taken the alarm, and does not deny that present appearances are very bad; and the principal reliance here is in the fear which Monk's officers will entertain lest their division should restore the King. It is even said that many have abandoned him since Lambert's troops approached the frontier; and they must now be near Newcastle, and Monk between Edinburgh and Berwick. Public rumour asserts that there has been some engagement between their parties, but this is without foundation, for it is not to be supposed that they are so desirous to destroy each other, that they have sought each other out before receiving news about the negotiation from London, where the deputies from Scotland are still expecting the ratification of the treaty. It is no easy matter to foresee what will be the end of these movements. Reason ordains that both parties should come to a speedy accommodation, upon any conditions whatever; but Monk may persuade himself that, by remaining firm, all the Presbyterians will favour him, and that with their support he will become the master. Up to this hour, it is not asserted that any other project is entertained by him, or that he has any understanding with the King of England: his answer about the treaty will, ere long, develope his plans. Meanwhile all is in suspense; even the Courts of Justice are closed, because the Judges had been commissioned by the Parliament only until the 20th of last month. The tallages were ordered only for the same term, and by the end of the present month all other taxes will cease, although the Committee has directed their continuation: the levy will not be effected without the aid of soldiers. I have already informed your Eminence that Mr. Lockhart had visited me, and appeared persuaded that the passage of the King of England through France did not proceed from any intention on our part to

support his plans: he has doubtless spoken to the Committee in the same terms. It still continues to affect great jealousy of his Majesty's inclinations,—a feeling partly originated by the Royalists, although it would be the means of bringing the minds of the army into greater unanimity.

M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, December 8, 1659.

My Lord,

The affairs of England remain in the state which I described to you in my preceding letter. The ratification of the agreement between the two armies has not yet arrived, and it was not expected until to-day or to-morrow. However it appears that General Monk has declared to the Assembly of Scotland, which was held in the ordinary place of meeting of the Parliaments, that God and men summoned him to England to re-establish the Parliament; and that he exhorted the deputies to do their duty in maintaining public tranquillity during his brief absence, and requested some pecuniary assistance. The said deputies professed that they did not wish to interfere in the quarrel, as its termination could not be advantageous to their country, and that as their country was disarmed, nothing was to be apprehended from it; that nevertheless they would not fail to do their best to keep it in peace, and would give a subsidy. This strong disposition to open their purse casts greater suspicion upon the inclinations of this General, there being little likelihood that the Scotch, who are not very rich, and still less fond of their governor, would grant him assistance so readily, unless they saw their way clear to gain him over to the interest of the King, for whom he formerly fought. Besides that he has at present no other object than the one he professes, this distrust is augmented by the changes he is making in his troops while the deputies are negotiating; and

although they still hope not to be disavowed, recruitments and new levies are being made all over England, either in order to reduce it to reason, or to overcome the resistance which will be opposed to the levying of the taxes, for the people daily become more determined, insomuch that an artisan in London sorely maltreated some soldiers who were assisting the collectors. The difficulty will not be less in the country, and fear alone will be able to extract money, so long as the taxes are not enacted by the Parliament. The Committee is working at the same time to place the new form of government in a fit state to be presented to the officers of all the armies who are to assemble on the 16th of this month, and the Council of War has appointed twenty-seven commissioners to examine it. It has also had some debate about recalling the old Parliament, or at least forty members of it; inasmuch as it would not be easy to assemble a similar body so much interested in favouring the army; but the principal officers were far too highly offended with it ever to submit to it again. The City of London has not yet deliberated upon Monk's letters: they are even suspected of being suppositious, and the bearers have been arrested since they were disowned by the deputies from Scotland. A report has been very prevalent that some troops of both parties had encountered each other, and the disadvantage was on the side of Lambert's men, but it has no foundation; and up to the present time no act of hostility has taken place on either side; and it is probable that, even if the accommodation is not approved of, the assembly of officers will take place notwithstanding on the 16th, and that meanwhile all things will remain in their present state.

12.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, December 11, 1659.

My Lord,

I think I have anticipated the order which your Eminence gives me in your letter of the 27th of November, not having allowed any post to leave without informing you of what had come to my knowledge regarding the affairs of England, and it was not until after I had performed this duty that I wrote to M. de Turenne on public affairs; but some of my letters, and among others, that in which I relate the dissolution of the Parliament, have been suppressed, and no restitution of them has been made, notwithstanding my complaints. I should be deceived if the present had the same fortune, since it informs you of Monk's answer to the treaty which his commissioners had signed at London. I send a copy of it, that you may judge from it what are his intentions. This despatch had no sooner arrived yesterday evening in London, than a resolution was taken to send back the deputies from Scotland to Newcastle to-day, and to give General Lambert power to treat, on the spot, about the differences which may remain. The Royalists do not think that these can be settled so easily, and are persuaded that Monk still claims independence of the General who commands in England, and will never allow the officers whom he has cashiered to be restored; their hope is moreover founded upon the fact, that three additional regiments have been commanded to march to the frontier since this news, and that the leaders of the army speak with uncertainty about the success of this negotiation. Nevertheless as it does not appear that Monk has any understanding with the King of England, and as his troops are considerably weakened by the continual withdrawal of the officers, and further, as neither the English army nor the City of London have declared for him, according to the assurance which had been given him,—it is not to be presumed that the division will continue; and the

English army is so well aware of the ill effect which war would produce, not to grant the greater part of the demands that will be made, excepting the separation of the forces. It is said that the despatch from hence will find the Scottish army on the march with its artillery and baggage; that, on the same day, Monk had dismounted three companies of cavalry which were with him, and that the goodwill of his troops towards him was beginning to subside; and that thus the evil would not be so great if he should be very much opposed to the accommodation, in reliance upon which the regiments are naming their deputies to proceed to London on the 16th, and form a government there. Mr. Lockhart returned to Dunkirk to-day, after having obtained that the regiments of his garrison should belong to the main body of the army, but having failed to procure the restoration of the officers cashiered during his absence. The letter which he gave me to forward to your Eminence will doubtless inform you of the object of his journey, and of the resolution here regarding the continuation of the truce between England and Spain: he entered into no explanations with me; but he strongly assured me of having done all in his power to dispel the jealousy felt here in regard to France. I shall not fail to see some member of the Government upon this matter, and diligence is very necessary now that the King of England is staying in France; for his party have published some propositions which he made to induce the King and your Eminence to undertake his restoration, which will be difficult if his ill-fortune decrees that the troops should come to an agreement; it is however true that even if they become reconciled now, there will always remain seeds of dissension in the army.

I have learned nothing about foreign affairs, except that the Swedish ministers announce the raising of the siege of Stettin; and I may finish my despatch by telling you of the extravagant zeal of a Quaker who, this week, indulged himself in entirely spoiling all the old statues which remained in the garden

of Whitehall, as well as some pictures of Holbein, among others, a portrait of Henry VIII. which was greatly esteemed.

13.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, December 15, 1659.

My Lord,

The news to-day will represent the condition of England, as rather different from what it has been of late; and if my letters by the preceding post led you to expect the reunion of the troops, you will now doubtless judge that this is still very remote, as the people of London are inclined to favour the designs of General Monk. About the end of last week, it was discovered that, at the instigation of some Presbyterian ministers, Royalists, and old Parliamentarians, some apprentices of this town proposed to get up a requisition tending to the convocation of a free Parliament, or to the recall of the last, and to the maintenance of the churches. The committee, upon hearing this, directed the Mayor of London, on the 12th inst., to publish on the following day a prohibition to proceed further in the matter, on pain of indictment for treason. He did not refuse to obey; nevertheless, under the pretext of indisposition and fear of the people, the officers whose duty it is to perform this act refused to do it, and the Mayor being again called upon, asked time to confer on the subject with the Common Council, which met at eight o'clock this morning. But, without waiting until its deliberations were over, a company of cavalry proceeded to the front of the Exchange, and attempted to make the proclamation. The apprentices did not fail to gather around, and to interrupt it by yells, even to maltreat the trumpeters and mingle among the horsemen, who not finding themselves strong enough to withstand the populace, retired in disorder, and were pursued as far as St. Paul's Church, where there is a garrison. Immediately, all the ca-

valry and infantry which had been posted in different parts of the town took arms, and marched through the streets in order of battle, and one regiment went to take possession of the neighbourhood of the Exchange. The apprentices having continued still to irritate them with words, and even with stones, the soldiers fired upon the people, only two of whom were killed and several wounded; the rest dispersed, having no arms wherewith to defend themselves. At the same time the shops were shut. Some cried to arms, and six apprentices went to the Guildhall, where the citizens were assembled, and presented their requisition, signed by a large number of others; it was immediately read, and a committee of twelve appointed to examine and report upon it to the Assembly. It was also resolved immediately to request General Fleetwood to withdraw his soldiers, and to order the heads of families to keep their apprentices and servants at home, that peace might be preserved. Before this deliberation was finished, the troops had several skirmishes in the streets with the citizens: some more of the latter were killed and wounded, and one artisan was obliged, in order to escape having his house burnt down, to give up his apprentice, who had thrown stones at the soldiers. The disturbance continued until the evening, when the deputies from the citizens went to General Fleetwood, and informed him of the resolution of the town-council, assuring him that the magistrates would do their best to repress insurrection, if he would withdraw his troops into their quarters. He accepted this offer, and Colonel Desborough, at the head of three companies of cavalry, with drawn swords and pistols in hand, went to the Mayor to request him to order the people to retire, which was immediately done. The soldiers at the same time evacuated the streets, and returned to their ordinary posts: and tranquillity seems now to be fully restored, although the ill feeling is not extinguished, and the citizens declare that they will not suffer the army to be in the town. It is not however probable that the guard will be entrusted to

them; this would be affording the ill-intentioned the number of whom is considerable, facilities for promoting their very different designs; many of them aim only at restoring the King, and amuse the populace under the name of liberty; others hope to have a free Parliament, and believe that they will succeed, if Monk joins them; and the old Parliamentarians hope that the confusion will force the army to recall them. The latter have, during the last two days, made themselves masters of Portsmouth, and the governor whom they had established there, has received Sir Arthur Haslerig, and three others of his faction; the news arrived yesterday in time to give free course to the malecontents, and some say that Hull and Plymouth have joined the same party. Letters from Monk also arrived the day before yesterday, which represent him to be very arrogant. He requires that Lambert shall withdraw his troops, which have approached too near his quarters, if they have any desire to treat, and avows the letters which have been presented to the City of London, by demanding the liberation of the bearers; from whence it is judged that his former dispositions to an accommodation have greatly altered, and that the progress of his party will render it still more difficult, although the prolongation of this quarrel must, according to all appearance, turn to the advantage of the King of England. Those therefore who desire his return are full of hope, and leave no means untried to excite the people of London, who are ill-disposed to insurrection, on account of the injury done to trade by domestic disorders; it is not that the principal inhabitants do not apprehend a tumult, and that this fear cannot prevent them from following their inclinations, and that there are not many of them very much opposed to the return of the King, through being in possession of confiscated property. This diversity of interests does not permit me as yet to form a solid judgment about the future, and I can only promise to write by every post the consequences of to-day's action, and if the ports are closed, as there is reason to believe

they are, to send an express messenger to France, that your Eminence may be as fully persuaded of my diligence in the execution of your last orders, as I beseech you to be of the affection and respect with which I am, etc.

14.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, December 18, 1659.

My Lord,

As my letters by the last post were opened and part of them detained, for fear lest they should meet with the same fate to-day, I send an express as far as Calais with a duplicate of my last letter, in order that your Eminence may be informed of what has occurred here of late. I may add that, since the 15th, the ill feeling between the City and the army has augmented rather than diminished; the Mayor has refused to wait upon the committee, who had summoned him to attend, and the Common Council declares, that in an interregnum like the present, their chief magistrate ought rather to give than receive the law from any other authority. This same body appears greatly inclined to press for the convocation of a free Parliament, and I have been told that a requisition to this effect is now being signed by the principal citizens, the number of apprentices not being capable to authorize a demand of this nature. The citizens profess also that they cannot allow the town to be guarded by the army, and they have received orders to hold themselves ready to arm the militia; besides their natural aversion to the soldiery, the people are instigated by the Royalists and old Parliamentarians to insist upon this last point, which they think will not be granted by the Government, and failing to obtain which, they would immediately declare themselves. These unfriendly feelings have as yet produced no hostility, and the troops remain in their posts with as much arrogance as ever. It is even said

that, within the last twenty-four hours, they have been supplied with a quantity of ammunition, and among other things, with grenades, in order that fear of pillage and fire may keep the wealthy citizens in their allegiance, and without their assistance the common people can effect nothing. There are also many persons interested in preventing the return of the King, on account of the confiscated property with which they have enriched themselves, and who endeavour to appease this irritation, although their inclination is averse to the army, as they foresee that a rupture would restore the King. This consideration does not affect the old Parliamentarians; they are in action no less than the Royalists, in the hope of getting the upper hand, and it is said that some accommodation has been made between them and the Presbyterians, one of whose most renowned leaders, who had retired from England after the defeat of Sir George Booth, with whom he had been in correspondence, now appears here publicly. But if the state of London is doubtful, that of the country is far from being certain. The news of the defection of Portsmouth has been found to be true, and eight companies of infantry have set out, in the belief that a portion of the garrison is disposed to open the gates to them; some vessels have also left the Downs to proceed thither, and keep in obedience those which are at Portsmouth. Fears are also entertained about the Isle of Wight, and some other places on the same coast; but Colchester is said to have declared in favour of the Parliament, and what has taken place in London will give so much courage to all people, that a reunion with Monk can alone dispel all these storms. I do not learn that any news from him has been received here of late, and a Colonel has been despatched to Newcastle to hasten the accommodation, the delay of which cannot but be very favourable to the King of England; which leads people to believe that this General will become more tractable, unless he has more plans than one. Some reports affirmed that he had armed the Scotch, and placed several

fortresses in their hands; but apparently his troops would not have suffered him to do this; he has paid them two months' wages out of the ordinary taxes of the country, and gives liberty to all those officers and soldiers whose views are contrary to his own to retire. It only remains for me, my Lord, to report the madness of another Quaker, who went to see Sir H. Vane, who has retired from public occupations on the ground of ill-health, and declared to him that he was sent by God to consecrate him King: the story goes that Sir Henry submitted to this order of Divine Providence, and suffered the imposition of the hands of the pretended prophet; whence some infer that he has great designs, supported by his influence among the Saints. It would be necessary however for affairs to take another course in order to elevate him so high, although he armed those of his faction during the late crisis.

15.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, December 22, 1659.

My Lord,

The letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 6th instant, merely gives me occasion to assure you that I shall continue to act with the ministers here on the terms of which you express your approval; and that when the King's resolutions in regard to the affairs of Germany and of the North are made known to me, I shall endeavour to use them to the advantage of his service. But it is not a time to treat of the foreign affairs of England, her home affairs are still in too much confusion, and during the last few days the City of London has not pursued a different course of conduct to that communicated in my previous despatches. The council of citizens, remaining firm in their resolution not to recognize any superior authority, have lately established a Committee of Safety, in imitation of that instituted by the army:

it received a petition from some inhabitants, tending to the same objects as that of the apprentices, and after it had been read, it was referred to the committee to be examined, and to be conferred on afterwards with General Fleetwood. But one of the law officers of the City having remarked that this document gave the Mayor of London the title of Chief Magistrate of England, and that other towns might thereby be offended, as every town has a Mayor who possesses as much authority in his district as the Mayor of London, it was thought fit to require a change in the address. It has also been proposed of late to disband all the militia and establish a new body from which the Sectaries shall be excluded; and yesterday, although it was Sunday, on an alarm being given that the Anabaptists were going to rise, all the trainbands appeared in arms, without the soldiers leaving their posts, although there was an encounter in which a trooper maltreated a citizen, who had insulted him. Night being come, the trainbands dispersed, and now nothing extraordinary is to be seen in the City. But some believe that this calm will only last until the answer is given which General Fleetwood has promised to the request made him by the citizens that he will withdraw the soldiers from the City; and others assert that the General intends to amuse them with fair words until two thousand cavalry arrive, which Lambert has orders to detach from his army with all speed. During these negotiations, nothing is omitted to excite the people and embitter the soldiers. The ordinary ministers of justice have declared that Colonel guilty who ordered his men to fire on the citizens during the disturbances last week. A plot has been discovered, the success of which would have inclined the balance all on one side. The old Parliamentarians were in treaty with the Governor of the Tower of London, and he was to have admitted them into the fortress to-day. Information of this having been given to the leaders of the army, they sent for him yesterday evening under the pretext of wishing to confer with him on pressing business,

and they immediately arrested him, and Colonel Desborough went to the Tower, and sent away all suspected persons from it. This change may cool the ardour of the inhabitants, whom the hope of not having this garrison against them rendered more bold in their undertakings against the army; and it is certain that the Mayor as well as all the more wealthy inhabitants dread the consequences of the insurrection; that there are conferences daily between them and the leaders of the army in order to put a stop to it; and that with a view to bring the rest of the people to the same opinions by granting what they demand, the assembly of deputies from each regiment has resolved to summon a free Parliament in the month of February, with qualifications which shall be hereafter determined; before arriving at this result, different overtures were made regarding the form of the government, and that which Sir H. Vane and the other Commissioners had projected not proving acceptable, there was some talk of re-establishing the Protector; others proposed the recall of the Parliament which was dissolved at his deposition; and the determination of to-day is still subject to alteration, until certain news is received from Monk, in whose favour the garrison of Portsmouth alone has declared itself as yet. The advices which arrived from Colchester and other places, and from several ships, have not been confirmed; and the troops that were sent from hence to the first-named town have contented themselves with guarding the approaches so as to prevent any one from entering it. I do not learn that any news has yet arrived in reference to the treaty which has been negotiated at Newcastle; and although it is asserted that Monk has advanced, as the conferences are not over, it is not probable that the armies can have begun their march, in addition to which, as Lambert is much stronger in cavalry Monk would have great difficulty in getting to London without a battle. I have already informed you of the return of Mr. Lockhart to Dunkirk, from whence he is not to return hither for a month,

or six weeks; I shall not fail to send him the letters which your Eminence has addressed to my care, and at the same time to fulfil the order which you have given me concerning him; if any other should present itself for me to execute, I might believe that you would acknowledge my zeal.

16.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, December 25, 1659.

My Lord,

In order to satisfy your Eminence's commands, I continue my reports on the condition of England. If my preceding letter represented the City of London to be agitated, tranquillity now appears to be somewhat restored; and either because the leading citizens have lost courage, on seeing the failure of the design on the Tower, or because the Mayor and citizens foresee the inconveniences of domestic warfare, the people have not yet taken arms, neither has the militia-guard left London; and to-day orders have been given on the part of the Mayor to all the heads of families to keep strict watch over their children, apprentices, and servants, so that the public peace may not be disturbed. This order is based upon the convocation, which has just been published in front of the Exchange, of a Parliament on the 5th of February, in conformity with the answer which General Fleetwood gave on the day before yesterday to the deputies from the City; he communicated to them at the same time the resolution taken by the council of officers regarding the form of the government. This assembly agreed to give to twenty-one persons, who have already been selected, the title of Conservators of the Principles of the Commonwealth, to wit, that royalty shall not be exercised in these nations, that no single person shall hold the office of chief magistrate, that an army shall be continued, maintained and commanded in such a manner as that it may

secure the public peace, and that it may not be disbanded or its conduct altered, except with the consent of the aforesaid Conservators; that no tax shall be put on the consciences of those that fear God; that there shall be no House of Peers, that the legislative and executive powers shall be distinct and not in the same hands, and that finally the two assemblies of the Parliament shall be elected by the legitimately qualified people. The last article makes mention of two assemblies because it has been determined that the Parliament shall be composed of two Houses, one of which shall hold the place of a Senate co-ordinate in power with the other; but they shall not have power to destroy the Conservators, neither shall the Conservators be authorized to infringe the seven principles aforesaid. The greater number of these new ministers have been selected from the committee, and there have been added only General Fairfax (on account of his reputation), Colonel Overton the Governor of Hull, Lawson the commander of the fleet, Major-General Harrison, and another illustrious sectary of the Fifth-monarchy. At present, the regulation of the qualifications of those who are to have an active and passive vote in the elections is being discussed; and this is no small difficulty to be got over, for even if the expectation of Parliament should put a stop to these disorders, still, if it is ill-intentioned, which we must presume it will be, the army will have some trouble to maintain the establishment which it contemplates, and still more to destroy a body whom the whole nation will have chosen: it might even happen that the proposed restrictions will serve only to rekindle the fire, which is not thoroughly extinguished. The common people of London seemed very disposed to insurrection, to which they are instigated by the Royalists, among whose ranks we may include a portion of the Presbyterians, some of whose ministers have of late spoken openly of the King of England in their sermons and prayers; and in all probability, if the Mayor of London had not been a man of peace, we should already have beheld many disorders

here. The danger is not yet past, and there is still great reason to fear so long as the troops are disunited. The letters which have arrived from Scotland, and the report of the deputies whom a congregation of ministers had sent to Monk, in order to dispose him to a treaty, represent him as far removed from such a step; instead of hastening the meeting at Newcastle which he had demanded, before he will send his new deputies, he wishes to see those who signed the treaty at London; and this conduct is attributed to be a design for gaining time. Some of the troops, in violation of the negotiation, have also marched towards England; and moreover all the speeches of this General tend only to war, under the specious pretext of restoring the Parliament. He might probably have pursued this course of conduct in the hope that the City and Tower of London would support his plans; but if he does not change his tactics, now that he knows that one has entirely failed, and that the leading citizens are opposed to the other, there will be no reason to doubt the existence of a perfect understanding between him and the Royalists. These last spread reports of various insurrections of islands, towns and ships, and at the same time give the alarm against the Anabaptists and other Sectaries in order to excite bitter feelings against the army; but I see nothing certain as yet except the declaration of the Governor of Portsmouth, where Sir Arthur Haslerig and two other illustrious Parliamentarians hold out, without extending their conquests; the one who had been in negotiation with the Governor of the Tower of London has not been caught. It is also true that the people are in great agitation, that they accuse the Mayor of London of having betrayed them, and that the army has addressed many reproaches to the deputies of the Common Council because the citizens fired from the windows on their troops, and threatened to fire the town if anything of the sort were done again; and the man who was tried for firing on the Colonel who was at the head of the troops on the 15th of this month, having had his arm shot

off by his own musket, has from remorse of conscience revealed the abettors of that assassination, the consequences of which cannot but be fatal to the City.

M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

London, December 29, 1659.

Sir,

. . . I will not fail to comply as quickly as possible with the order which your Excellency has given me to inform this Government of the peace of France, and of the dispositions of his Majesty towards England, which are in conformity with the language which, on different occasions, I have had to use to the ministers here in order to dispel the distrust produced by the letters written by the Royalists on the Continent to those in England, to encourage them by the hope of strong assistance from France, and in order to contradict the reports which have consequently prevailed, without giving rise to any complaints against me on the part of the Royalists. But the most influential are of opinion that it would cause the entire ruin of their affairs, if the people apprehended the return of the King of England with foreign troops; for the parties which are now in arms are not so much embittered against each other, but that the slightest likelihood of the Prince's return would reunite them; the greater number even of those who wish him back do not desire to see him in a position to exercise absolute authority, but rather necessitated to grant them all the conditions they may desire. This capitulation can be made only by a free Parliament; this is therefore the object aimed at by the Presbyterians, and generally by all the nobility, who are confident that, if the votes of this body are not influenced by violence, they will restore the monarchy, and that not only the City of London, but all the people of England would arm to prevent the army from treating this

Parliament as it did the former one. Whether these measures are true or false, prudence will not permit me to declare too openly for either one or the other party just now; and, with great reasonableness, I am directed to regulate my language according to the condition of the present Government, so as not to offend those into whose hands it may ere long fall. My conduct will continue to be conformable to this advice, until I perceive on which side fortune will turn. Although, at present, the King's name is mentioned in the declarations of Monk and the other malecontents only to express entire alienation from his interests, he nevertheless has never yet had such great cause for hope,—as the present confusion makes those who destroyed the monarchy desire its return, and there is moreover considerable room for the presumption that, if the present ill-will between the leaders of the army continues to increase, some of them will be forced to seek safety in the Royalist party. There is no news yet whether Monk is disposed to peace, and if the ill success of the design of the old Parliament upon the Tower of London, and the orders of the Mayor of London to keep the people in peace, had rendered this General more tractable, he will have had reason to return to his former views after having been informed that, notwithstanding the convocation of a Parliament was proclaimed on the 25th of this month, Lawson, the Admiral in command of the Channel-fleet, has openly declared for the recall of the old Parliament, and that, on the 26th, he entered the river with thirteen vessels, in order to favour those in the City who have the same inclinations, and to intimidate the others. This news had no sooner arrived at Whitehall than Sir H. Vane and some others were requested to go at once to the fleet, which is distant only forty-five miles from London; they reached it on the day before yesterday, and it is not yet stated what success has attended their negotiation, but only that it is hoped they have been fortunate, and that when some Parliamentarians who are on board the ships proposed that

the deputies from London should be arrested, Lawson would not consent to it. On the same day that the ships drew near the metropolis, it was discovered that the Royalists were making a great cabal to excite the common people to insurrection; that some of them had purchased arms, and that sixty or eighty barrels of powder had been seized on the river; to prevent any such movement, command was given to all their party to leave London the next day, on pain of death to some, and confiscation of their property to others. These orders did not prevent that, during the search made last night, several of the inhabitants were found with arms in their possession, and that about a hundred horse assembled near London, with the intention of entering the City at two o'clock in the morning, to give courage to the people. The army having been informed of this, Colonel Desborough sallied forth about midnight in search of them; and now all is quiet. It will be very difficult for such enterprises to have better success so long as the Mayor and principal citizens are opposed to them, and keep such strict watch as they do to discover them. Some rumour has also been excited at Colchester, but it was put down by the garrison and ordinary magistrates. But Portsmouth is still in the hands of the Parliamentarians, and some soldiers of the army have gone over to them. All these disorders, and the likelihood of still greater disturbances, have led to the adoption of a resolution to convoke a free Parliament as the only means of appeasing the people, and to repeal the bills which have been passed during the last few days, as well as the restrictions which have been judged necessary in order to secure the election of favourable members. One of the principal schemes which has been resolved upon is to require towns to elect their own citizens and not strangers; it has also been determined that many small places which from time immemorial have possessed the right of returning members, shall be deprived of it; that this privilege shall be transferred to towns of more importance; and that the Royalists,

both old and new, under which latter term are comprehended those who were in arms with Sir G. Booth, shall be incapable of being elected and of voting. The council of officers is now assembled to adopt a final resolution, and there will no doubt be some who will advise the re-establishment of the late Parliament in order to put an end to the aforesaid divisions, the continuance of which is acknowledged to be very pernicious to all the parties that are opposed to royalty. The next post will inform you of the result.

18.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, December 29, 1659.

My Lord,

The duplicate of my letter to M. de Brienne will inform your Eminence of what has passed in England since my last despatch. I may add however that it appears to me that there is a great cabal of the nobles and principal Presbyterians; their design is to induce the Common Council, in spite of the Mayor, to demand the restoration of the Long Parliament, but with all the members who were excluded from it before the death of the King, feeling sure that they will recall his son on the conditions which he granted in the Isle of Wight. They had expected that the people would take arms on the preceding night, and they are striving to excite an outbreak by all sorts of ways. I have besides had conversation with one of the near relations of General Fleetwood, and have given him strong assurances that his Majesty, notwithstanding any reports to the contrary, had contracted no engagement in favour of the King of England, did not contemplate assisting him with his troops, and would not meddle with domestic divisions of this nature, except in order to appease them, if his intervention were desired. He greatly exaggerated to me the present state of affairs, representing

Monk as already engaged with the King, or very disposed to take up his cause; the City of London equally ill-disposed, although the principal citizens profess to desire to maintain peace; and the generality of the officers incapable of taking any resolution. He even went so far as to give me to understand that if his relative and the members of his party could find safety in an accommodation with the King, they would not refuse it, but that such a proposition was too dangerous to be hazarded, and that distrust alone would lead many other principal officers to take the initiative in order to make more favourable conditions for themselves. I judged it advisable to state that his Majesty would hear with regret of this bad state of things, that he had hoped soon to be informed of the reconciliation of the troops, and that the King of England was so much attached to Spain that his restoration could not but be one day prejudicial to France, unless those who restored him should request his Majesty to be their arbiter and warrant for the conditions of the treaty; that this was the best security which they could find, and also a very proper deference to exhibit, in order that the Royal family, returning by the intervention of France, might feel no more resentment at the close connection which has existed between our two countries of late. This speech was well received and followed up; without however my inviting them to an accommodation so long as any other resource was left; consequently, I was merely informed that, according to the course of affairs, Mr. Fleetwood would take his resolution, and that he would doubtless avail himself of this opening, which cannot give umbrage, but must, on the contrary, produce some advantage. Monk's brother-in-law also saw me not long since, and represented the General to have no other design than the restoration of the Parliament. Nevertheless, he does not answer for the future, and if the movement which is taking place in London does not decide him to make peace, he must have some understanding with the English Presbyterians; in which case the

army would not be able to maintain itself long, and the King of England would return upon the conditions of the Isle of Wight. The Catholics are in great apprehension, and hope that France and Spain will take part in this revolution, fearing that otherwise their condition will be worse than it is under the present Government. The hopes of the one party and the fears of the other may both be ill-grounded, and the Council of War, now in session, may take resolutions which will reunite all minds. There is much talk of recalling the last Parliament, although the convocation of another has been proclaimed; as for the Conservators of the Principles,[1] they will, to all appearance, be suppressed if the misunderstanding continues. And if your Eminence judges it advisable that I should make advances to any party, you will, if you please, let me know: meanwhile, in order to disoblige none, I shall continue to speak fair words to all. . . .

19.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, January 1, 1660.

My Lord,

The city-watch so often arrested the bearer of my letters by the preceding post, that they arrived too late at the office; I shall therefore join them to my present letter, in order that your Eminence may be informed of what had taken place up to the first day of the week, although affairs seem to have entirely changed their appearance within the last hour. On the 30th of last month, two very similar resolutions were adopted by the Common Council, and by that of the officers of the army. In the first of these assemblies, after the Mayor had cleared himself from the public reproach which had been cast upon him of having abandoned the interests of the town to support the designs of the army; and after he had also

[1] The Keepers of the Liberties of the Commonwealth of England.

disavowed that he had approved of the establishment of the Conservators of the Principles of the Republic, it was determined to use every effort with the army, in order that a free Parliament might assemble as quickly as possible, notwithstanding the letter which, during this deliberation, was presented on the part of Admiral Lawson in favour of the last that had separated. Some of the citizens coincided in this opinion; others, also, held up their hands in its favour, but on condition that all the members excluded from their seats in 1648 should be readmitted; and many were for a new election. This diversity of opinions resulted in the company agreeing to general terms which, in some sort, left the army at liberty to choose whichever it should please. The council of officers was, at the same time, deliberating upon the report of the deputies who had been sent to the fleet, the Vice-Admiral of which would not depart from his original resolution, and had only offered to agree upon some articles for the security and indemnity of the principal officers of the army provided that, before they entered on a treaty, they should agree to recall the old Parliament. The firmness of this leader, and the difficulties which are met with in all the other establishments, had so greatly shaken the subaltern officers, that their superiors had some trouble to prevent them from revoking their resolution of the preceding week in conformity with that of the City. But the Conservators of the Principles were destroyed, and it was found more advisable to form a committee of officers who should take care that no attack was made upon either liberty of conscience, the support of the army, or the Republican form of government. It seemed likely that these two deliberations would restrain for some time the violence of the parties, each being full of hope that the Parliament would be favourable to it; the Royalists persuading themselves that they would be able to recall the King upon certain conditions, and the army that neither Monk, nor the fleet, could refuse to submit to it. Yesterday occurred

the election of a new Common Council for next year, from which all those Sectaries who lean towards the army were excluded, and Sir Harry Vane returned to Lawson, who was near Gravesend with twenty-one vessels, and whose fleet is daily increasing, only two vessels remaining in the Channel to cruise off Dunkirk, although he has been pressed to send more thither, but of fear lest the King of England should undertake to transport foreign troops into England or Scotland. But, contrary to all expectation, upon the news that Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had been joined by the troops sent from hence against him, was preparing to march towards London with fifteen hundred horse, it being proposed to the Council of War to send some troops to give him battle, the greater number of officers opposed it. At the same time, two regiments which are on guard near Whitehall declared for the old Parliament, although their Colonels are opposed to it. The other corps are disposed to follow this example, and this general alienation seems to leave no other course open to General Fleetwood, than to join the City with the rest of his faction, and summon a new Parliament; indeed, I am told that he has sent to make this offer, which will be very agreeable to the Royalists; but it will come very late, and it has even been reported to me that news has arrived this evening of an accommodation signed on board the fleet, which recalls the Parliament, and assures an act of indemnity to all the officers and others who have taken part in public affairs of late, with the exception of Lambert, of Whitelocke, the Keeper of the Seals, and of Lord Warrenstowne, a Scotchman, and member of the committee. If this report be true, we shall speedily see this treaty carried into effect, and the praise or blame attaching to it will be due to Vane, who is accused of having excited the fleet when he saw that he had lost his credit with the army. Reports are also current that some assemblages have taken place in the country, and even that the cavalry are in a state of excitement at Oxford; but no credit can be given to them, and what now

appears most certain is the return of the Parliament, to the great prejudice of the Royalists. Nothing is said about Monk, except that he is at Berwick with his troops, waiting for news of what is going on here. The intelligence of the accommodation of the Dutch with the King of Sweden is not confirmed, and even their ministers who had communicated it to me beg me to make offers here in their favour, which I shall not fail to do as soon as the present storm is dispelled; it is also for this reason that I defer giving information of the peace between France and Spain.

20.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, January 5, 1660.

My Lord,

The information which I gave you on the 1st of this month regarding the disposition of the troops has proved so correct that, although on that same day, in the general council of officers, their leaders had taken a resolution to insist strongly upon certain principles which, in part, tended to their own preservation, nevertheless, on leaving the assembly, each one had no thought but how he should make his own private arrangement with the old Parliamentarians; and on the following day, there was not found a single company in all the regiments of either Fleetwood or Lambert which had not changed sides, some without taking any precautions, others after having bid good good-bye to their leaders, and excused themselves on the ground of the necessity to which they were reduced of conforming to the views of the troops in general. The members of Parliament who were on board the fleet returned at the same time to London, and met, together with the others who were in the City, at the house of the Speaker, in whose name they sent to Mr. Fleetwood to demand the keys of the Parliament-house. He delivered them into their hands, and, shortly after, upon the refusal of some corps to obey his orders, he re-

signed to them also the direction of the army, and prepared for retirement. Nevertheless, either because they have assured him of good treatment, or because he would rather expose himself to the rigour of the Parliament than take to flight, he has not yet quitted London. But Colonel Desborough and all the other leaders have retired, and the troops have received their orders from the Speaker, in front of whose house they assembled the day before yesterday. He came down to the threshold of his door, in his robes of ceremony, and received from the officers an assurance of their future fidelity, which assurance the soldiers accompanied with joyful acclamations: they afterwards marched in bodies through the streets of Westminster without entering the City until the evening, when a portion of the infantry returned thither to their ordinary posts. The Speaker, accompanied by some of the deputies, then went to take possession of the Tower of London; and, although the garrison had previously refused to recognize the Government which the army had decreed, they made no difficulty about receiving him, and submitting to the Parliament; and three commissioners were left there to give them orders until the session, which commenced this afternoon. Before entering their House, the deputies proceeded to Whitehall, to ascertain their number, and having found that it was sixty, among whom are those very persons who compose the committee, no one besides Mr. Whitelocke, the Keeper of the Seals, having absented himself, they went and took their places without any ceremony or guard; the Speaker only was between the two Earls who conducted me to the audience. Their first deliberation was to order a month's pay to the troops, and to decide upon the provisional government of the troops, which has been given to some Colonels whom the army had cashiered. The company of guards came afterwards to take its post before Westminster Hall, commanded by the same officers whom Lambert had dismounted on the day when the Parliament was broken up, and all things

are returned to the state in which they were before this revolution. There is no doubt felt but that the other troops will follow the example of those in London. Already Desborough's regiment, which had been recalled from the Scottish frontier, has sent its Major to give assurance of its fidelity. There is here also, a Colonel from the garrison of Dunkirk who speaks no less positively, and there is no reason to distrust the troops sent against Monk, since they were detached from the regiments which are in London. It is not that Lambert, believing himself lost, cannot take the King's side, under the pretext of favouring a free Parliament, which the people greatly desire; but the English Generals have little authority with the officers, who see that the convocation of such a body entails the return of the King, and consequently, their entire destruction. As for the Irish army, the greater part of it had already mutinied and had arrested two of its leaders, so that the commander, a staunch Republican who had been detained here, was obliged to return thither last week in all haste, to extinguish the fire which is thought to have been partly kindled by the friends of the last Protector, who desire to recall his brother Henry, their former leader. The City of London alone appears to entertain sentiments not very favourable to the present Government. It was perhaps remarked in my preceding letter, that, last week, the citizens elected a new council, composed of persons well-affectioned towards the King. The day after its establishment, letters were presented to it from Monk, Lawson, and Haslerig, all tending to induce the City to join them in re-establishing the old Parliament. This incitement, and the pretext of present danger in a time of division among the troops, gave rise, during all the latter days of last week, to different resolutions. It was at first determined to send a deputation to the last two of these leaders, to inform them of the resolution which had already been adopted to convoke a free Parliament, without explaining whether it had reference to a new one, or to the old one together with the members

excluded in 1648. It then became necessary to change the militia, to hold it in readiness, to restore the chains to all the streets, and to demand their restoration by the Governor of the Tower, in whose custody they are kept. These decrees obliged the Speaker to call upon the Mayor on the day before yesterday, to represent to him that these precautions were now very unnecessary, since the army had returned to obedience to the Parliament; and the result was, that this magistrate, who is naturally very pacific, promised to continue his cares to prevent any interruption of the public tranquillity. Nevertheless, the main reliance of the Royalists, and their only resource, is that the Common Council will not agree to this, that it will persist in its resolution to arm the people under the officers already selected, and to insist upon the convocation of another Parliament, if the excluded members are not recalled: that even the City trainbands would put an end to the session of the present Parliament, that all the people of England will support them, and that Lambert and the other officers ruined by its return will embrace the same cause. This is, in effect, the only resource that remains to the Royalists, and I am persuaded that if the wishes of the people were attended to, their projects would succeed. But as there is now no established and respected authority, it is doubtful whether the wealthy citizens who remained peaceful in more favourable times, would be willing to engage in a war which would be unsuccessful if the army remained united. The most disinterested are of opinion that their division alone can encourage the people to arm, and that after having had a good grumble they will be appeased, unless Lambert succeeds in gaining over some corps. Fleetwood made an offer in writing, on the day that he was abandoned, to join with the City in favour of a free Parliament; but on the next day, having been summoned to keep his word, his sentiments were changed. Even though it be unfounded, there is a report that Sir Harry Vane had agreed with the commander of the fleet upon an in-

demnity for the leaders of the army, who make bitter complaints of him, and say that he is in part the author of this unexpected change, which may be attributed to the resolutions of the Council of War, to the necessities of the troops who were not paid, to their fatigues, and the continual dangers to which they were exposed during the interregnum, without any hope of seeing its termination except by their total ruin, if a free Parliament were called,—while, on the other hand, this Parliament, not being able to maintain itself without the army, will pay them, and disperse all the factions which may arise. These weighty considerations may also have been supported by the intrigues of the Parliamentarians, who during all this time have had liberty to act, and by others who did not see that their authority would be so much augmented by the ruin of the Parliament as they had hoped. This is, my Lord, the present state of England. My next letters will give even more certain information of its condition.

21.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, January 8, 1660.

My Lord,

My last letter informed you of the resolutions of the Parliament at its first session; on the next day, the 6th, they passed an act for the continuation of the customs and excise duties until the 10th of March; liberated those who had been imprisoned by their predecessors in power, disbanded all the troops levied without authority, ordered that the troops in the North should retire to the quarters which would be assigned them by the directors of the army, without mentioning Lambert their commander, and voted that the Speaker should present the thanks of the House to General Monk, Admiral Lawson, and the commissioners who were at Portsmouth. During the time that these deliberations were proceeding,

about thirty of the members, whom the army expelled from the Parliament in 1648 for having advocated an accommodation with the King, presented themselves at the door to resume their seats, presupposing that as violence, and not any just cause, had deprived them of their rights, they would meet with no opposition, now that the army was subjected to the Parliament. It was not however thought desirable to admit them, but only to resolve that the matter should be taken into consideration on the 15th of the month; that they should also deliberate upon the means of filling up the vacant seats; that meanwhile a committee should examine the proceedings, orders, and reasons concerning the absent members, who were obliged to be satisfied with this answer, although it appears to them an amusement until news shall arrive from the troops in the North. The debates yesterday were of no importance; it was only resolved to pass an act of indemnity for the soldiers who had returned to obedience to the Parliament, that a loan of £20,000 sterling should be raised, and that a review should be held only of the subaltern officers and soldiers. To-day, the act of indemnity occupied their attention, and their minds appeared somewhat excited when, upon this subject, Sir Harry Vane spoke of Lambert, some of the assembly having called him a traitor. The Common Council has, on its part, continued to carry out its former resolutions touching the establishment of the militia, which is to consist of six infantry regiments, of 3000 men each, under very Royalist Colonels, to the exclusion even of the Presbyterians, who are not considered sufficiently zealous. It was also resolved yesterday, to present a requisition to the Parliament to the effect that that body may be free, which imports the recall of the excluded members, and in general there appears to be great disposition to press upon this point. Some even flatter themselves that, if the City is not satisfied, it will receive these deputies, and that they will compose a Parliament more considerable than the present, both in rank, fortune, and number. But to all ap-

pearance, the one party will not have courage to sit, or the other to exclude, unless Lambert has formed a faction in the army; no one doubts his goodwill, and despatches have been sent to him from hence to invite him to do so. The difficulty is about his credit among the troops, who are by no means accustomed blindly to follow their leaders, and who are sufficiently enlightened to perceive that they must either conform to the views of the others, or support the interest of the King, although they talk of nothing but a free Parliament. As the number of discontented officers is very great, and moreover the English Government shows no wish to arrange with them, despair may make them act in opposition to their own inclinations: in this case, the confusion would be as great as it ever has been of late, London and the country having no more affection for the Parliament than for the army. It is to be believed that expectation of what Lambert may have done will keep men's minds in suspense. The last news received about him states, that he was preparing to march against Monk on the 2nd of this month, because the latter General had refused to treat without the sanction of those of his party who are in Portsmouth; but the country, the season, and the retreats possessed by the latter General, give him great facility for avoiding an engagement as long as he may please, and orders will arrive from hence before the two armies will have been able to approach each other. It is also said that a brigade of Irish troops, who were serving under Lambert, have abandoned him, not being persuaded of the justice of his cause, and that the others will hear with joy of the re-establishment of the Parliament, in favour of which a part of the Irish army had declared, and had surprised Dublin. These dispositions leave room for belief that, if prosperity does not render it too haughty, its establishment will be consolidated, notwithstanding the opposition of the Presbyterians, whose leaders are coming round. Liberty to return has been granted to those who retired voluntarily; and it might also be granted

to the others if they would enter into an engagement against the King; otherwise their places will be quickly filled up by new elections, as it had been already proposed before the last interruption.

22.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, January 12, 1660.

My Lord,

The debates of the Parliament during the last few days do not furnish matter for a long narrative: it has been occupied chiefly with the Act of Indemnity, and with the organization of the Council of State, which, like the preceding one, is composed of twenty-one deputies, among whom Sir Harry Vane is not included, and ten others; the remaining resolutions authorize all that had been done during the interruption by Monk and the others, manifest gratitude for their services, and give power to the directors of the army to appoint officers. A new form of oath has also been projected, and a deputation has been sent to the Guildhall to persuade the citizens not to alter the course of conduct they have pursued in all previous years. The commissioners who were sent the day before yesterday received a very vague answer, and there still appears a great disposition on the part of the Common Council to insist upon the readmission of the members excluded in 1648. Although the requisition to this effect, which was to be presented to Parliament, has been suppressed, it has been only in order not to recognize its authority; and instead of sending him an address, an express has been despatched to Monk to invite him in the name of the City, to defend the same cause. But after the declaration which he has lately again renewed of his obedience to the Parliament, and the oath which his troops have taken against the Royal family, it is not to be expected that this General will support the wishes of the people; it is rather from Lambert that the evil is likely to come. The news from

the Scottish frontier is that, having been informed of the revolution which has taken place in London, he made his troops determine to go thither, and set out on his march immediately with his cavalry and all his infantry for whom he could find horses; that a portion of the remainder has been left at Newcastle, or its neighbourhood, and that he has given liberty to withdraw to all who were not willing to follow him before they knew what was passing in London. The same leader had sent some troops to York, and others against General Fairfax, around whom a number of gentlemen had gathered, but who immediately retired; but some accounts assure us that they have reassembled, and even that that brigade of the Irish army which had deserted Lambert had offered their services to Fairfax, if he would declare in favour of a free Parliament, and that he is now at their head. Reports about Monk are very contradictory, and some say that he is on the march hither to defend the Parliament; but in all probability the preservation of Scotland will have appeared to him of too much importance to be neglected in such a doubtful conjuncture as this, which has encouraged the town of Exeter to expel its garrison. Public rumours affirm that other towns have followed this example, and that in some counties mobs have gathered together under the pretext of having a free Parliament. I nevertheless know of nothing very certain, except the march of Lambert, who aims at strengthening himself with the Sectaries, who are dissatisfied with the Parliament, the condition of which is rather precarious; having no longer their support, and the Presbyterians being so hostile to it, it will be indispensable for it to make an accommodation with one or the other party; and if the latter will enter into an arrangement against the Royal family, the doors of Parliament will be opened to them. As this news only arrived this afternoon, it cannot yet be foreseen what resolutions it will produce; but a few days will clear up these uncertainties.

23.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

[*London, January* 15, 1660.

My Lord,

It will not be without some surprise that your Eminence will learn the great change which has taken place here since my last. If its contents led you to apprehend that England would relapse into a civil war, my news of to-day will produce other feelings, and you will judge from it that we shall soon behold the entire re-establishment of public tranquillity. The day before yesterday conversation ran extremely upon the approach of Lambert with four thousand horse, upon the letters he has written to some Sectaries, whose interest he professed to support, and upon the disposition of the City of London to favour him. Letters from the northern counties moreover assured us that General Fairfax was in arms at the head of all the nobility of the country, and of a brigade which had deserted from the army under Lambert's command; it was also very certain that many very considerable towns had expelled their garrisons and declared for a free Parliament. The City of London threatened, on its side, to take some very bold resolution, if the excluded members were not readmitted, and it has not yet consented to recognize the authority of the Parliament. I know even that of late many assemblies of the principal noblemen and Presbyterians have been held, and that they have spoken of nothing but the conditions upon which the King should be recalled, flattering themselves that the different parties could no longer come to a reconciliation, that the weakest would be constrained to join them, and that the people having so strong a disposition to return to a monarchical government, the Parliament would not be able to prevent it. But, contrary to all these appearances, there arrived yesterday evening intelligence that Lambert had submitted to the Parliament, and had already retired with some of his friends, perceiving that his troops wished to prevent him. At the

same time, there arrived assurances that Fairfax had returned to his house, and had no other intention but to oppose the violence committed by the army in his county, and to support the interests of the Parliament. All the towns which were thought to be in insurrection have made similar declarations, and there does not now appear to be any body in the army or among the people, who do not profess entire obedience to the Parliament, except the council of the citizens of London, which is composed of Royalists, who had flattered themselves up to this hour that they could have their own way so long as the divisions continued in the army. As these measures are proved to be without foundation, the citizens of their own accord, or by force, will follow the example of the rest of the country, and not suffer their dissatisfaction to break out, unless some more favourable conjuncture presents itself for executing their designs, which they would cover with the pretext of public liberty, wounded by the exclusion of the majority of the members of Parliament by the minority, which has now the good fortune to behold all its enemies vanquished and their army in subjection; the glory of which is chiefly attributed to the firmness of General Monk in supporting their interest. His friends here affirm that he has greatly contributed by his intrigues to withdraw the troops from Lambert, and that he has no less a share in the reduction of the Irish army. In gratitude for these services, there has been forwarded to him the commission of Lieutenant-General of all the forces of the Commonwealth, with very ample authority, and he is now the most powerful subject in the whole nation. Fleetwood, Desborough, and all the others of the same faction are entirely out of employment, and it was only with some trouble that they were comprehended in the Act of Indemnity passed by Parliament on the first day of this week. Lambert has not been excepted from it, provided that he submits within nine days; and an express had been despatched to inform him of this. His fall entails that of Vane, and there has been some talk during the last

few days, of putting him in the Tower, it having been discovered by one of his intercepted letters that they kept up an extensive correspondence. The Protector's family also is entirely cast down by this change, not one of them remaining in authority. Those who possess it are not men of great name, nor are they sufficiently moderate to preserve themselves from all the dangers to which vengeance, passion, violence, and private interests will expose them. Moreover they do not act with all that unanimity which is necessary, and on the day before yesterday, the principal of them indulged in such very bitter language on the subject of the oath against the Royal family, that the Speaker threatened to leave his chair. On the same day it was enacted that the places of the definitive deputies should be filled up by new elections, and Mr. Lockhart's letter was read; but although it was submissive to excess, and expressed extraordinary joy at the return of the Parliament, thanks were ordered only to the soldiers and officers of the garrison, without mentioning the government which Fleetwood, Desborough and Vane, had maintained. Yesterday's session was spent in devotions, and to-day the act of abjuration of the Royal family was passed, as well as the re-exclusion of the members excluded in 1648. These questions would not have been decided so speedily, but for the reunion of the troops; and the recommendations of the Common Council would have met with greater attention than they have now experienced; it had resolved upon arming its militia, but this warmth will soon cool down. . . .

24.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, January 26, 1660.

My Lord,

I did not do myself the honour to write to your Eminence by the preceding post, because I had nothing of importance

to communicate; this barrenness of news will continue until the arrival of General Monk, who still pursues his march towards London with five or six thousand men of the Scottish army, and will probably arrive here about the end of the week. All parties now cast their eyes upon him, and each fancies that he is favourable to it; to which his answer to the City has not slightly contributed; he approves and praises its conduct of late, and the declarations that it has made in favour of a free Parliament. But he also professes to hold his commission from the Parliament, and to desire to support liberty of conscience and a free Republic, deferring further explanations until after his arrival in London. The perusal of this letter in the Common Council was not followed by any debate, because they had not been able to discover what his sentiments were, and there was no room for taking any decided measures without his assistance. At the same time the Parliament received a copy, not only of his letter to the City, but of the answer thereto, by the hands of a messenger whom General Monk despatched express. Thus, up to this time, he has kept on good terms with both these bodies, and the Parliament does not manifest less impatience in inspecting him than the City; it has even been determined to-day, that two of the members should go to meet him, and invite him to hasten his march, and that an annuity of one thousand pounds sterling should be given him in landed property, as a mark of gratitude for his services. Moreover all possible complacency is shown to him by authorizing the changes he has made in the army and the establishments in Scotland, where Major-General Morgan commands the troops which he has left in that country, and a brigade of those from Ireland, which had at first deserted Lambert. Nevertheless whatever caresses are lavished on him, it is certain that his credit excites great jealousy and that the Republicans will give him, if they can, coadjutors in the command of the army, so as to weaken his authority, which they think is incompatible with the safety of

their government; this may, perhaps, produce some discontent, upon which the City and the Royalists partly found their hopes. The Presbyterians excluded from the Parliament also think him disposed to restore them, and to favour the design which they have of recalling the King of England, upon conditions which will not destroy the liberty of the people of England; and I see that very enlightened persons hold these sentiments, which he will be moreover led to embrace, however little he may be inclined to do so, by the great divisions by which the Parliament is now agitated. Never has the misunderstanding been greater between the few deputies of whom it is composed; and the expulsion of Sir Harry Vane, which it was thought would unite all minds, has only served to bring new factions to light. Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had greatly distinguished himself of late, and had appeared to be opposed to the Sectaries, declared for them when the Presbyterian faction wished to expel other deputies of Vane's party; and their mutual jealousies have risen so high, that they accuse each other of wishing to recall the King of England. This suspicion seems to have more foundation in the case of the Presbyterians, and they would otherwise have slight reason for discontenting the Sectarians, the staunchest supporters of the Parliament, at a time when they are offending the people by the exclusion of the members expelled in 1648. There is much talk of filling up their places by new elections, and this would be giving some satisfaction to the people; but as there would be great difficulty in disposing them to depute persons well-affectioned towards the Republic, and the number of the new-comers would be greater by far than that of the members now sitting, it is not presumable that their design is to fill the Parliament, unless they wish to favour the return of the King. The great opposition of some to the abjuration of the Royal family, also augments all these distrusts, and now it is proposed to take an engagement on more moderate terms: some wish to reject it entirely, and the retirement of the Speaker

of the Parliament for some days, under the pretext of indisposition, is considered a prognostic of some storm, it being certain that he has intimate relations with Monk. These are the reflections of this time, their correctness will be ascertained in a few days. Meanwhile the course of affairs is arrested, and all that Parliament did, last week, was to fill up those places in the army which had become vacant by the dismissal of a number of officers, to disband the regiments of Vane and the Sectaries, to give orders for the payment of the other troops, and to direct the Council to make sure of those Colonels who, eight days ago, were sentenced to confinement in their own houses, for being most of them, and among others Lambert, suspected of not having obeyed orders, and of caballing in the City. As for the Council of State, it is not yet fully established, as only twelve of the thirty-one members of whom it is to be composed have hitherto taken their seats; the others are waiting until the question of the oath of abjuration is settled.

25.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, February 2, 1660.

My Lord,

The letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 14th of last month, permits me only to continue my narration of what comes to my knowledge of the affairs of England, and I cannot better discharge this duty than by representing them in the same state which I described in my preceding letter. General Monk not having yet arrived, and his conduct continuing to keep up the hopes of all parties, the commissioners of the Parliament set out at the commencement of last week, to convey to him the compliments and reward which have been assigned to him. London, a few days afterwards, followed this example, and deputed three citizens to congratulate him on his journey. The excluded members

of Parliament, have also sent to him one of their number. The nobility of the country through which he passes, do not fail to do him all honour. The towns receive him with ringing of bells, and the people convey to him their complaints. He treats every one with great civility, discloses his feelings to none, and, whilst he is conferring appointments on persons suspected by the Parliament, he assures it of his fidelity. The letters which have been received to-day, are again in these terms; they give no reason to expect him until the end of the week, with his army of four thousand infantry, in four regiments, and three of cavalry, of about sixteen hundred men, the rest having returned to Scotland. This force would not be sufficient to overthrow the Government, if he were not seconded by the City of London, the council of which persists in its refusal to recognize the Parliament, and in desiring that the excluded members may be readmitted, or that another Parliament shall be called. The city of Exeter, one of the most important in England, together with the county of which it is the capital, have declared themselves to hold the same opinions, and have sent a deputy to communicate their request to the Speaker of the Parliament. Other counties have treated it with still greater contempt, addressing their communications to the Mayor of London; and there is a general disposition to prevent the Government from consolidating its authority; it therefore professes to have no intention to perpetuate itself, but to form a perfect republic, the conduct of which shall be left to successive Parliaments; and of late it has employed itself in drawing up a declaration which shall disabuse the people of the impressions which have been given it, in order to render it favourable to the return of the King. In addition to this precaution, a great part of the army has been posted in the City and its suburbs; and as evil can arise only from discontent among the troops, care is taken to satisfy them by promises of speedy payment, and by gratuities to the leaders. Admiral Lawson is to have an annuity

of £500 sterling, in landed property. His officers had an idea of presenting a request on behalf of Sir Harry Vane; but their warmth produced no result, and the Parliament continues to seek out and punish other members of the same faction. One, a Colonel and the Governor of the Isle of Wight, has been deprived of his regiment; and another has been suspended and sent to the Tower of London. Parliament has also received the accusation brought by the officers of the Irish armies against the commissioners who governed it during the interregnum, and against General Ludlow, their leader, who had been detained here during that time, because he appeared too much attached to the Parliament, and who, a few days before its re-establishment, had returned to his post; but, not having been acknowledged, had retired into one of the fortresses of the country, along with some Sectaries. He has been directed, as well as all the other accused persons, to come and give an account of his actions; and, as peace now prevails, they will not be in a position to disobey this order. Other commissioners have been sent in their stead, and Parliament provided, last week, for all the principal posts in connection with the administration of justice in England, without exacting any particular oath. It also made Mr. Scott a Secretary of State, and filled up the places of the cashiered officers, giving regiments to some of their supporters who have never seen any service. These are, as nearly as I can tell, the doings of last week, at the end of which the old Speaker resumed his chair, from which some draw inferences in favour of the Parliament. Others assert that a great number of its members are well-disposed towards the King, that they encourage the disobedience of the City, and only await Monk's arrival to declare themselves, as they think he will not fail to pay attention to the wishes of the whole nation, the great advantages which he will gain from it, the small amount of intelligence and stability displayed by the present Government, its jealousies, and the bad fortune of all the Generals who have

served it. But, although all these considerations are weighty, we may nevertheless doubt whether they will make much impression upon a man of compact mind, who prides himself upon his great sincerity and firmness of purpose, who is moreover a Republican, and whose conduct in domestic matters gives no great promise. It is not certain also whether his troops are entirely devoted to him; and if the Royalists have made any arrangements with him, they are very secret, as he passes for impregnable among most of them, whom he has not yet made terms with. As the destiny of England partly depends upon his resolution, and as he himself may not yet have come to any determination, no solid judgment can be formed upon affairs here until we have a clearer insight into his views, and I should not deserve the confidence which your Eminence shows that you place in my opinion if, on the eve of so great a crisis, and at a time when those most passionately attached or opposed to the Government, are not less agitated by hope and fear, I should presume to foretell the future. . . . .

26.] EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM M. DE SCHOMBERG TO HIS SECRETARY, RESPECTING THE AFFAIRS OF ENGLAND: TO BE COMMUNICATED TO HIS EMINENCE.

Calais, February 5, 1660.

Monk has sent word to those in London that, as he found all people on his march inclined towards a free Parliament, it was advisable that one should be assembled, and that he will halt in the neighbourhood of London in order to co-operate with them for that purpose. In the City, the restoration of the King is publicly talked of.

In Scotland, the Earl of Glencairn has six thousand men assembled in behalf of a free Parliament; there is no doubt that he is for the King.

The Parliament has sent provisions and clothes for a month to Dunkirk, and summoned Lockhart to England, but he excuses himself from coming on the ground of an illness from which he says he is suffering. His correspondence with the Marquis de Carracena is well known.

General Maur, who passed over into England ten days ago, now writes me that everything there is in commotion; that the remnant of the old Parliament, in conjunction with the Council of State, has just made great offers to Monk; they hope to gain him over; he has not yet declared himself. He has passed through Northampton with seven thousand men; it is hoped that, within a week, very advantageous events will occur in regard to a free Parliament and to the King's interests.

27.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, February 9, 1660.

My Lord,

The last letter which I did myself the honour to write to your Eminence, informed you that the hopes of all parties in England were based upon General Monk, and that all were impatiently awaiting his arrival. He has not yet reached London, and will not arrive here for three days, during which his troops will refresh themselves in the environs. But his views have already been ascertained by the reception which he gave to the deputies from this City, and from many of the counties. He received the first in presence of the Commissioners of Parliament, and replied to their compliments by demonstrations of astonishment that he should be thought capable of being unfaithful to the authorities from whom he held his commission, exhorted them to submit, and not interfere with the measures which it would take to restore tranquillity to the nation under a suitable form of government, but rather to second its good intentions by their prayers, and

meanwhile to have patience, the only services which the Parliament desired of the town. He spoke with still greater sharpness to the other deputies who came to request him, on the part of the nobility of different counties, to support the readmission of the excluded members without their taking any oath, or the convocation of a free Parliament. After having blamed their impatience and the demand which they made, after the Parliament had rejected it, he also gave them to understand that it was not the custom to allow any deputy to take his seat in such an assembly, before he had entered into some obligation; he represented to them that the present Parliament was the freest that had ever been seen in England; saying that it would fill up the vacant places as soon as they should have decided upon the qualifications necessary to prevent the ruin of a cause for which they had fought so long; that, finally, they must submit to the present Government, and that he was bound to defend it. Besides these verbal declarations, he has made a similar one in writing, in the form of a letter addressed to his own county, the nobility of which had adopted the same opinions as the City of London; he therein expressed at some length the reasons which oppose the return of the Royal family, and which ought to dispose the whole nation to choose in preference a republican government. The Parliament received the news on the 5th instant, together with letters, both from its own deputies and from the said General Monk, full of assurances of his fidelity, in gratitude for which, the General's commission, which had been given him during the interregnum by the Council of State, was approved. The post of Custos Rotulorum of his county was given him, and an Act of Approbation of all that he had done was read for the first time. From this time forth also there began to appear a great change in the disposition of the minds of this assembly, it being even resolved immediately to levy a tax of one hundred thousand pounds sterling per month; and search was afterwards made, in the houses of some citizens,

for the money which is said to be intended for the King of England. A considerable sum was, in fact, found in the house of one very Royalist merchant, but it is claimed by several individuals. It is also now proposed to dissolve the Common Council, and to compel the City to yield that obedience which it has up to this hour refused. If, on the one side, their boldness has increased, that of the people is not the less diminished, nor do the Royalists appear less downcast; their only resource is now in the general discontent of all the nobility, who are beginning to assemble in different quarters. It is not moreover, to be presumed that the army will always remain in such complete dependence upon the civil power; and although just now the condition of the Government appears advantageous, though the troops are under no apprehension with regard to the return of the King, and though this fear may be strong enough to keep them united, nevertheless, I cannot but concur in the opinion of those who think that there is yet much progress to be made before the Parliament will be consolidated, seeing the general alienation of all the people, and the jealousies which some of the deputies were not able to dissimulate to-day, when it was proposed to withdraw the troops from the town to make way for those from Scotland, according to Monk's desire, which has been complied with. This request has reawakened some hopes and doubts, and it may safely be stated that the least discontent of the army, or assistance from without, would destroy all the existing establishments, unless the people were to change their humour. In order to recover them from the great aversion which they appear to feel, the Parliament decreed and published, at the commencement of last week, a declaration in which it professes its desire to establish a free government, without King or Lords, under the direction of the Parliament; and to form an army in such a manner that, so long as it shall be necessary to the safety of the republic, it shall obey the civil authority; that all questions and proceedings concerning the lives, liber-

ties, and conditions of the people, shall be regulated according to the laws of the country, and that the Parliament shall not meddle either with the ordinary administration, or with the execution of the laws; that provision shall be made for the maintenance of the ministers, that the tithes shall be continued to them as the most convenient method of supporting them, and that provision shall also be made for liberty of conscience in matters of religion, in conformity with the word of God; that the universities shall be kept up, even with an augmentation of their privileges, if necessary: that the Parliament shall turn its attention to means for restoring and increasing commerce, and that, finally, it shall seek some method of relieving the people as quickly as possible from the heavy taxes with which they were burdened by the bad councils and conduct of preceding governments. The other debates of this week are of less importance, and I may merely remark, that two gentlemen who had presented a species of declaration in favour of a free Parliament, from one of the counties of England, were sent to the Tower of London, not so much because of the contents of this document, as of the address made to the Speaker of the Parliament, and the gentlemen sitting at Westminster. This treatment has not prevented other gentlemen from undertaking similar commissions, and presenting to the Speaker, on the day before yesterday, a request in the same style. A debate again took place on the qualifications for the contemplated elections, but no decision was arrived at, and Parliament has been employed in granting commissions, both to civil and military officers; and a committee of twenty-one persons has been appointed to administer the affairs of the navy, the commander of which has gone with a large number of his officers to meet Monk, who has, upon his march, obtained a very express declaration from the governor of Hull; after which there remain in England no troops, or garrisons to be reduced to obedience to the Parliament, any more than in Scotland and Ireland.

The Council of State must now find itself at greater liberty than in past times, for the Master of the Ceremonies has informed me to-day that I shall have an audience to-morrow; at which I shall inform the Council of the conclusion of the peace, and endeavour to efface any suspicion which it may have that our peace may turn to its prejudice; as the present conjuncture warrants my speaking in more positive and obliging terms than on past occasions. I shall not fail also to make some general allusion to the affairs of Sweden, and to propose a conference for the purpose of discussing them more particularly. There remains nothing for me to add except that some officers of the King of England have been arrested at Dover where they landed, and that some letters have been intercepted, addressed to the Mayor of London; which excites some suspicion of a design against the Government.

28.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, February 16, 1660.

My Lord,

The last posts having brought me no letter from your Eminence, and as I have no other orders to execute, I have only to inform you of what took place at the audience which the Council of State granted me last week, and of the internal affairs of England. The duplicate of my despatch to M. de Brienne will acquit me of this duty; and I have nothing to add thereto, except that the Scottish General has declared again to-day in Parliament that he would remain constant to its interests, and that he is reputed to be entirely opposed to the interests of the King of England, although he refuses to take any particular engagement against his whole family. The Presbyterian faction of this same assembly holds similar opinions; and finding itself sustained by the army, it will prevail over the Sectaries, who remain few in number. The great

business of the present moment is to fill up the vacant places by persons well-affectioned to the present Government; and it is not easy to succeed in this, whatever precautions they may take, for the people are so alienated. Moreover these new elections cannot long be deferred without great inconvenience, as the counties declare that they will pay no more until the Parliament is free and complete, and the soldiers are beginning to lose patience. Those whom the Scottish General forced to withdraw from London appeared greatly discontented, and the six hundred men who were ordered to proceed to Dunkirk were still more violent in their mutiny, in which their officers joined. The Colonel having had some difficulty in preserving his life, it is proposed to decimate them. Mr. Lockhart is expected here this week, and it is contemplated to send him, or some one else, to France; but the Government must be delivered from its present embarrassment before it can attend to any affairs abroad. . . .

29.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

London, February 17, 1660.

Sir,

. . . The heads of the English Government declare that they will not support the interests of Portugal, and that it is necessary to make peace with Spain, in order to restore the commerce of England, the ruin of which is alienating the affection of the people. They are in fact necessitated to leave no means untried to overcome the aversion of the nation; and it is upon good grounds that the officers of the English army represent it to be so general. But it does not follow that a slight support from abroad would be able to restore the monarchy, there being little vigour among the nobility, and less disposition in the large towns to run any risk, since they have not availed themselves of the opportunities presented to them

by the recent divisions; they confine their opposition to starving the army, by refusing to pay the taxes, and declare that the declarations of all the counties in favour of a free Parliament will be followed by a resolution to close their purses, until their wishes have been complied with. But the sword usually can produce gold; and if the army remains united, the people will find it difficult to avoid supporting it. The orders for the levy of the taxes are therefore addressed to the troops quartered in the counties; and as their interest is concerned, they will not fail to carry them into thorough execution. The hopes which were still entertained of Monk are daily proved to have been unfounded by the declarations which he continued to make to numbers of deputies from the provinces before he reached London. He arrived here on the morning of the 13th, at the head of his troops, having been sent for on the preceding night in great haste, because the infantry which was in the City had mutinied, and part had installed themselves in Somerset House, after having driven away their officers; they would not go to the quarters which had been assigned them until they were paid, and the soldiers declared themselves ready to serve any one who would pay them, making mention of a free Parliament and of Lambert. Neither remonstrances nor the arrival of some cavalry were able either to persuade or intimidate them; and it not being considered advisable to proceed to extremities, the Council made all haste to give them a month's pay, which pacified them. Those at Somerset House did not leave their post until they saw Monk, and remained all night under arms. Propositions were meanwhile made to them in the name of the City, which they refused to believe; and some apprentices taking advantage of the opportunity, assembled in considerable numbers; but the Mayor having given information of this, the cavalry marched against them, dispersed them without much resistance, and took fifty prisoners. The remainder of the night was spent in continual alarms; and the evil

would have been very great but for the neighbourhood of the Scottish army, which deprived of courage those who are believed to have excited this mutiny, which produced consequences at Gravesend, the few men who were sent to recruit the garrison of Dunkirk having on the next day revolted against their officers, and even wished to force their Colonel. They also sent a deputation of two soldiers to Monk, who represented to him the injustice done them by sending them out of England unpaid; he exhorted them to return to their duty, and some squadrons of cavalry forthwith marched against them to compel them to do so, and succeeded without bloodshed. But it is proposed to punish the most factious of the three hundred who have been arrested, and to cashier all those who joined in the insurrection at London. The whole army would incur the same fate if means were not taken to appease these discontents, which have been greatly increased by the order which Monk sent to the troops in London to withdraw. The Parliament did not wish to oppose him, although this arrangement was considered rather arbitrary. Nothing remarkable took place on the entry of the General, except that the Speaker, who thought that he would alight at his house, left the company to go to receive him, and having met him on his road, the one got out of his carriage, and the other off his horse, and they paid each other great civilities; after which the General continued his march as far as Whitehall, where the members of the Parliament presented him a complimentary address. The day after his arrival he again made in their presence a solemn declaration of his active and passive obedience, offering even to resign his commission if it should be judged necessary for the welfare of the republic, and only excepting from this great obedience submission to a monarchical government. He was to-day conducted into this assembly by two of the members, his soldiers lining the courtyard and hall of Westminster; and he gave an account of his journey, represented the general desire of the people for a free Parliament without any oath, explained himself against that which

had been proposed to him, and besought aid for Scotland and Ireland, which he represented as very poor. His wishes were expressed with so much submission that the Parliament was greatly satisfied with him, and bestowed upon him more honours than have been granted to any other subject in the nation. Nevertheless his appointment as General is not well established, and it is affirmed that it ceased on the day of his arrival in London; that now he is only one of the Commissaries-General of the army, and that he can take no important step without the consent of his colleagues. But if he shares this title with them, his power is very different, as the troops recognize him as their only leader, and all parties look upon him as the man upon whom depends the establishment or the ruin of the Government; consequently, he has not time enough to receive all the visits that are paid him. The ambassadors were not the last to seek him out. The envoy from Holland sent his son to compliment him upon his campaign, and the Portuguese minister requested an audience. I made no such haste, not judging it compatible with my dignity. But the correspondence which has taken place between him and myself, on some matters of business, gave me an excuse for calling on him to-day. During the last few days the Parliament has been chiefly occupied in settling the qualifications for the new elections, which it can no longer defer, whatever danger may arise from filling up the vacant seats, as the people are so badly disposed towards it; it has also given some commissions in the army, received with thanks a declaration from the seamen, given orders for the recovery of the money which certain individuals, under different pretexts, received from the State during the last interregnum, and restored that which had been seized because it was supposed to be intended for the King of England. For want of proofs, it has deputed the Council of State to examine into the tumult which has lately occurred in London; and General Ludlow, who was in Ireland, has arrived to give an account of his actions.

30.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, February 19, 1660.

My Lord,

It seemed probable that the declarations made by General Monk, before and after his arrival in London, would produce some effect in that city and in the country to the advantage of the Parliament, and during some days there appeared to be considerable despondency; nevertheless, the objections raised by the General against taking a special oath against the Royal family having occasioned some to declare that he was inclined to embrace the royal cause, and disposed others to take confidence, the town-council yesterday made no difficulty about receiving a deputation from one of the English counties, who came to offer their assistance in obtaining the convocation of a free Parliament. It was also debated whether the City should pay the taxes ordered by the Parliament, and the majority of votes seemed to be opposed to doing so. The Mayor, who held more moderate views, was hard pressed by some citizens who talked of nothing but shedding the last drop of their blood in defence of the liberties of the whole nation and of the City. The Council of State, foreseeing that longer toleration would end in destroying the authority of the Government, and that every other community would follow this bad example, judged it necessary at once to disperse this faction, and destroy the hopes which it centred on Monk, by the orders which he executed this morning. At break of day he entered the City at the head of all his troops, posted them in the streets and at the gates, and then removed all the chains and posts from the streets; seized six of the most eminent citizens, and sent them to the Tower of London; some others fled. He also sent for the record of the deliberations of the Common Council, and ordered the town-clerk to present it to the Parliament to-morrow; summoned the Mayor and Aldermen, and desired them to tell him precisely whether the City would pay the

taxes or not; upon which no answer was given him, it being postponed until the council shall have met, which will be to-morrow. Meanwhile the troops remain in the same posts, and the General at an inn near the Guildhall. The Parliament has authorized all these proceedings; and it is believed that, in order to make sure of the town, some other measures will be taken, as no good can be expected from it so long as it is governed by those who are now in office. The Mayor and Aldermen alone are well-intentioned; the others are entirely opposed to the Parliament and devotedly attached to Royalty. The tranquillity with which the action of to-day took place leaves no room to doubt that the people will suffer all establishments which may be considered necessary. They beheld without murmuring, and in great crowds, the removal of their chains and the imprisonment of the citizens, and the mildness with which General Monk spoke kept them still in some hope that he will contribute to their design of having a free Parliament, without the deputies being obliged to enter into any engagement before admission. Orders have been issued for the arrest of twenty-six deputies from the provinces, and the Government is persuaded that fear alone can prevent them from combining against the existing authorities. The town of Bristol, one of the most wealthy and populous in England, revolted under the same pretext; but the magistrates and leading citizens succeeded in appeasing the populace. Gloucester also has been rather agitated. The Parliament has not yet decided upon the qualifications for the new elections, and great inconveniences are found to exist, whatever precautions they may take against having republican deputies, since the people are so badly intentioned. . . .

31.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, February 22, 1660.

My Lord,

I send the present letter by an express courier, foreseeing that the post will be stopped, and it might be somewhat prejudicial, in the present conjuncture, if your Eminence were not promptly acquainted with what is taking place here in London. My letter of the 19th of this month informed you that the debates in the Common Council had obliged the Council of State to send General Monk, with all his troops, into the City, and that he had committed six citizens to the Tower, removed the chains, and urged the payment of the taxes: he was also ordered to break down the gates; but, upon being besought by the Mayor not to commit such a violence, he undertook to intercede with the Parliament; and, in fact, in the same letter in which he reported the performance of all his orders, he represented that it would be proceeding to too great extremities, and that the most respectable inhabitants of the City appeared quite disposed to submit. Instead of paying attention to his remonstrance, the Parliament, without further delay, dissolved the Common Council, and directed the General, in rather harsh terms, to do what he was ordered. He obeyed, the next morning, and had some gates burned, without opposition by the people. He again sent to the Mayor and citizens, in order to obtain some money from them; but some declared that they had no power to determine upon anything without the concurrence of the Common Council, and others answered that they would rather consent to the pillage of their houses than to a tax, unless it were levied by order of a free Parliament. Having been unable to gain anything, either by threats or persuasion, the General returned to Whitehall on the afternoon of the 20th, leaving the greater part of his troops in the City, and being much hurt at the bad reception which had been given to his intercession. The enemies of

the Government did not fail to take advantage of his discontent; and entirely to alienate him, they suggested to him, by means of some ministers, and other persons who have some credit with him, that the Parliament had appointed him to act against the City, in order to render him more odious, and afterwards to destroy him with less trouble; that a resolution had already been taken to deprive him of his commission, as soon as the town was reduced: that Lambert was to be recalled, General Ludlow sent back to take the command in Ireland, and Vane re-established in authority, as the latter had already obtained permission to remain in London, under the pretext of illness, and the prosecutions instituted against the others had been suspended; and that, finally, the Sectaries were going to resume the government, since, when they had presented to Parliament a requisition to the effect that no one should be admitted into that assembly, or into any public employment, unless he had taken the oath of abjuration of the Royal family, which was refused by the Presbyterians, far from rejecting such a demand, they had received a vote of thanks, from which circumstance he might infer that the request was not disagreeable. Fate, or the design of some members of Parliament, determined that on that same day a debate arose, and an act was passed, giving the command of the army to five commissioners, without taking Monk's services into particular consideration, or regarding the rank of Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of the republic, which had been conferred upon him during the interregnum, and afterwards confirmed, it being presupposed that the said rank came to an end on his arrival in London. This bad treatment, and their just reasons for jealousy, caused his officers to assemble around him on that very evening; and having found them all disposed to follow him, they resolved to repair the injury which they had just done, though with repugnance, to the City, and even to adopt its sentiments, and retire thither, in order to support them with greater security; which was done yesterday, at about

eleven o'clock in the morning, the General having left Whitehall at the head of a few companies of cavalry to proceed to the Mayor, whom he had shortly beforehand informed, that he might not take the alarm at his return into the City. As he mounted his horse, he despatched two Colonels with a letter to the Parliament, in which—after having complained of the orders which he had been obliged to execute, of the measures which were being concerted with the Sectaries, of the impunity of Lambert, Ludlow, and Vane, of the little inclination shown by the Parliament to fill up the vacant seats, and of the position it has taken to force upon the people an oath against the Royal family, which can be taken only by persons accustomed to perjure themselves—he summons them to issue writs, between to-day and Friday, for the election of new deputies in all the counties, without binding them by any fresh oath. . . . He also desires that this body may not continue its session beyond the 16th of May, and that another free Parliament may be convoked for the same time; and, in conclusion, he declares his resolution to wait in the City for an answer. The reading of this despatch caused no little surprise; and it was resolved to send immediately to the General the same two deputies who had gone to meet him, to endeavour to satisfy him. They found him with the Mayor, and expressed to him that the Parliament had learned with regret of his discontent, and did not think it had given him any cause; they disavowed the pretended correspondence with the Sectaries, Lambert, and the others, and attributed the delay of the proceedings which had commenced against them to the difficulty they would find in convicting them. As to the replacement of the excluded or deceased members, they declared that the Parliament warmly desired it, that the writs would even have been issued long before, but for the frequent interruptions occasioned by the General himself; and that, finally, the Parliament was disposed to do whatever he and the City and the people might desire, with the single exception of recalling the

Royal family. It is said that he declared that he was equally opposed to this last step. This conference however which took place in the presence of two citizens and one Colonel, did not produce a reunion, the General remaining steadfast in his opinions; and the deputies retired, after having ineffectually besought him not to press the Parliament so hard, and returned to Westminster in the afternoon, to make their report, upon which a resolution was taken to issue the writs for the elections as speedily as possible. The five commissioners who are to govern the army were next chosen: General Monk is one, and with him are associated Sir Arthur Haslerig, Colonel Morley, the Governor of the Tower, and two other Colonels. While these deliberations were going on at Westminster, the Mayor and Aldermen assembled in the Guildhall, whither the General having repaired, the advocate of the army spoke, as much in his name as in that of the other officers, and represented them all to be greatly grieved that they had been obliged to execute such rigorous orders on the two preceding days. He attributed the burning of the gates to Haslerig's soldiers; and declared that the army was resolved to unite with the City in support of the convocation of a free Parliament,—praying that, meanwhile, it might be furnished with quarters.

This speech was received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, and offers of their houses and their purses; the troops were then distributed in their quarters, and during the evening the people manifested all imaginable public marks of joy. Never were soldiers so greatly caressed, or so liberally supplied with drink; bonfires were kept up all night long, in front of most houses, both in Westminster and in the City, and the bells were rung to express the general delight. In some places the King's health was publicly drunk; in others, many things were done in derision of the Parliament, and the houses of several Sectaries were in danger of being pillaged. This general inclination will doubtless lead to the supposition that the an-

cient form of government will be restored; and the private statements of persons who take a leading part in Monk's deliberations, give reason to believe that this is his intention, although he professes to be opposed to the monarchy, and that he uses this language through fear of being abandoned by his troops, if, before he had gained them thoroughly over, he should declare for the King. Yesterday's step, in fact, leaves him no other course to take, as he cannot make friends again with the Parliament, and as the forces which recognize this General's authority are too weak to maintain him, unless he is supported by London and the nobility, who are entirely bent upon restoring the monarchy. It is true that the majority, among others the Presbyterians, who are now predominant, do not wish the King of England to return unconditionally; being persuaded that, if he returned with unlimited authority, their religion would suffer greatly under the bishops; and that, as the most influential of them contributed to the overthrow of the deceased King, if the hands of the present monarch were not tied, their whole cabal would be exposed to great danger, especially as his ministers are considered to be violent and vindictive. It cannot either be disavowed that some of these very Presbyterians are inclined to a republican government; and that, if they found themselves excluded, the idea might occur to them of gaining the supreme authority, by the assistance of Monk, who is believed to have come to London with the ambition of raising himself to a post similar to that held by the Prince of Orange. These different plans cannot but throw obstacles in the way of the Royal family; but as all the people desire their return, and have liberty to choose their deputies, it is not to be supposed that their choice will fall upon persons suspected of holding opposite views. It is even a well-founded opinion that some of the members of the present Parliament—among others, the Governor of the Tower and the Speaker—foment Monk's jealousies in order detach him from the party he had embraced. This suspicion

is not of recent date; the oath was proposed merely for the purpose of discovering these false brethren; and it is remarked that some of those who have refused to take it have always passed over the establishments of the republic, and kept on good terms with the Royalists; and that these are also the least connected with the downfall of the deceased King, and the most wealthy. It does not yet appear what course will be pursued by the others, who cannot expect safety either for their lives or property if the King returns: they have perceived, but too late, the fault they committed in cashiering all the officers of the army, and abandoning the Sectaries; and it is not without reason that they are accused of seeking to obtain a reconciliation with both. But they would have great difficulty in doing this now, being in the power of Monk, who will not fail to disperse them, and to substitute in their places the excluded members, whose numbers are three times as great as their own, if he sees troops approaching to their assistance; moreover, the people hold them in such great aversion, that, if they were once driven from Westminster, they would never return thither, unless they could conquer England. Thus their sole hope seems still to be Monk; and therefore they continue to humour him, through fear lest, raising the mask, he should summon back the King without waiting for a Parliament, being persuaded that, when the Parliament is assembled, they will be able to form factions to thwart the Royalists, and, in time, to gain over the troops, who clearly see that they will fall with the republic, as the people desire the King, but no army; and that, in any case, they will be able to call back the King upon certain conditions, and thus provide for their own safety. I am not sufficiently well informed of his Majesty's intentions, to take much share in these domestic conflicts; nevertheless, according to the course which they take, I will do my best to secure his interests, which can be no other than to forward, in some manner, the return of the King to England, if it is inevitable, and I shall have sufficient

facilities to insinuate to General Monk that which will probably be desired of him. Your Eminence will, if you please, let me know; and will consider that the election of the new deputies will require some time, and that affairs here might take such a course that their assemblage may be prevented by some other change. If anything of importance occurs to-morrow, I will write by the ordinary post.

32.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, February 26, 1660.

My Lord,

The letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 3rd instant, directed me to inform you, with all possible exactitude, of what is taking place in England; I will not allow to-day's post to leave without executing this order, although I can as yet give no positive information. The Parliament has continued to humour General Monk in all sorts of ways; and during the early part of the present week, it recommenced prosecuting those who excited his jealousy, ordering Sir Harry Vane to leave the City, and publishing a proclamation commanding Lambert to present himself before them within three days, on pain of confiscation of all his property; it also fixed a day for hearing those members of Parliament who acted during the late interruption, and gave orders for the payment of the troops which have come from Scotland. The same and following days were employed in settling the qualifications for the ensuing elections; and the abjuration of the Royal family, which some wished to render essential, has been changed into a simple promise to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England, and to its government in the form of a free State, without any single person as King, and without any House of Lords. The other restrictions are very inconsiderable, although very numerous, and this business is

to be terminated to-day, in order that the writs may be issued by the end of the week, according to the desire of the General, in conformity with which declarations have arrived from different counties, and among others, from Yorkshire, where General Fairfax and all the nobility have entered into an engagement not to pay any tax, until the excluded members of the Parliament are readmitted, or another free Parliament is called. Although the latter course seems to be more agreeable, there have been some overtures of accommodation with the excluded members, and it is said, that ten of each party are to meet for conference this evening. If the excluded members were to take the oath in its original terms, and would bind themselves not to interfere with any Acts passed since the year 1648, they would surmount the chief obstacles to their restoration, and, in this case, it would not be proposed to summon another Parliament so soon. These propositions do not satisfy the Royalists, and they are beginning to doubt the intentions of General Monk, since he has forbidden the Common Council to meet, and to arm the militia before the Parliament has finished its deliberations upon the convocation of the deputies, and has, as it were, approved of the engagement against a royal government, which was communicated to him before it was adopted, and against which he made no other objection, than that the words *in the presence of God* should be left out, and they were accordingly omitted. This conduct still keeps men's minds in suspense, and some believe him to be a Republican, and that he will not favour any other form of government, that he would not even have taken this last step if the Parliament would have given him some prerogative over the other four commissioners appointed to govern the army, according to the opinion of some deputies of this assembly who wished to render it necessary; and that he is on the eve of quitting the City, notwithstanding the caresses it has lavished upon him, and the money it has given to his troops, and of entering into the Council of State with all

those whom the abjuration prevented from taking their places. Others still persuade themselves that his real feelings are in favour of a free Parliament, and that whatever oath the deputies may take, he will recall the King, to whom he gave assurances of support, both before his departure from Scotland, and since his arrival in London, and that henceforward he cannot be in safety with the Parliament. Both these opinions have some foundation, and it appears that this General has kept up the hopes of all parties in order to place himself in a position to support that one from which he would derive most advantage, but that in reality, his primary aim has been to consolidate the republic, and make himself its General; that such alluring conditions may have been offered him of late, that he has returned to his first opinions, and will think that he has done his duty to the City and the whole nation in reference to the promise which he made them to act in concert with them so as to obtain a free Parliament, by obliging the present to fill up the vacant seats, although it may be with an oath contrary to the desires of all the people of England, which will not be without effect if the armies are united to enforce its observance. We must wait a few days more before forming a decisive opinion. The Scotch have sent six deputies, with the Earl of Glencairn at their head, to watch over the interests of their nation here, and this deputation is considered to be a consequence of the fair words spoken to them by Monk. Mr. Lockhart has been in London for some days, but I have not yet seen him; his arrival and the embarrassments of the country have caused me up to the present time to postpone speaking to the Council of State about the differences which have arisen between the garrisons of Dunkirk and Calais. As the important business now under discussion is to be brought to an end to-morrow, there will soon be an opportunity for treating of other affairs; and I am consequently urged by the Swedish ministers to press the despatch of fresh orders to the British plenipotentiaries in Zealand. I

have been informed that General Lambert sent to tell General Monk that, in order to heal the jealousies which his presence excites, he would enter into the service of the King of Sweden, if the Parliament would give him liberty to do so and to take with him those soldiers who would be willing to follow him. This offer may probably be accepted, at least as far as concerns himself.

BOOK IV.

33.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 1, 1660.

My Lord,

I shall not write to-day more positively of the affairs of this country than I did in my preceding letter; but, on the last day of last week, the Parliament concluded its debates upon the elections, warned the people, under very severe penalties, not to give their votes unless they had all the requisite qualifications, and reserved to itself the power to decide in doubtful cases; there has also taken place, in presence of General Monk, a conference between the excluded and actual members, without their coming to any resolution, the latter having offered to admit the former if they would take the oath against royalty, and these having refused to do so, not so much from conscientious scruples, as from fear of losing their credit. This negotiation is not yet broken off, and there still remains hope of an accommodation upon conditions that will secure one party without pledging the others to any form of government, although up to the present time General Monk has professed that he desires a republic, and most of his officers are of the same opinion. Meanwhile, the issue of the writs for the elections is delayed. As it is of importance that the bailiffs who assemble the people and preside

over the elections should be well-intentioned, the Parliament has, according to custom, renewed the commissions and appointed persons on whom it can rely. These are the principal occurrences of the last few days. Nothing of importance has taken place in the City, except that the Council of State having invited the General to come and take his seat to advise with them on the means of preserving Dunkirk, presupposing that the Spaniards were preparing to attack it, and that Mr. Lockhart had come expressly to give information of this, the Mayor and Aldermen begged the General not to leave the City or withdraw his soldiers, until some arrangement had been made for the safety of the town, which he promised he would do; and under this pretext he refused to go to the Council, but gave them to understand, that whatever might be the division of England, it would always be sufficiently at union to preserve the place, even if a hundred and fifty thousand men should attack it. I have been informed that, in order to please the City still more, he has represented to Parliament that peace with Spain is necessary. The provinces still profess to desire a free Parliament, and the bonfires which were made in London, have caused others to be made in several towns, where there even occurred some tumult, to repress which Monk sent orders; from which we may conclude that the fate of the nation is now in his hands, as all parties caress him and do all in their power to gain him over to their side. Lambert even has addressed himself to him to obtain a mitigation of his prosecution by the Parliament, and his recommendation produced an immediate effect. It is said that this great complaisance does not prevent them from taking underhand measures with the Sectaries, and that a plan has been formed to place Lambert at their head, if Monk declares for the King; but the object of their efforts would, in this case, be rather uncertain, as the nation is so disposed to favour his return. These domestic embarrassments have not prevented the ambassadors of Portugal and Holland from obtaining a

conference of late, after much solicitation on their part; the object of the former was to invite the Parliament to enter into union with his master, upon which proposition some disposition was manifested to permit levies of men here, and to send a fleet to the coast of Spain at the expense of Portugal. The other ambassador again spoke of the manifesto which his superiors have published against the taxes levied on foreign ships which come to load in our ports, and demanded that a similar course should be adopted here; but with little probability of obtaining his demand, as the Council is sufficiently aware that such complaisance would offend France, and would be contrary to our treaties, as I shall again declare expressly on my first interview with the Ministers of State. It will be necessary also to treat with them regarding the hostility which has been exhibited by the garrisons of Calais and Dunkirk, as Mr. Lockhart is not inclined to an entire amnesty, and the restitution of what has been taken on either side; he consents only to give liberty to the men and not to the horses, and says that they must stand in stead of reparation for the injury which an Englishman received three months ago in Calais from three Royalists assisted by two Frenchmen. I have found him moreover very full of grievances against all the governors of the frontier towns, because they show great favour to the Royalists, and maltreat those of the opposite party; his complaints will obtain greater credence for the statements which have been sent from France, to the effect that Abbé Montague has received from your Eminence very positive promises of large assistance.

34.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 2, 1660.

My Lord,

I send an express after yesterday's post to inform your Emi-

nence that this morning General Monk restored the old members, having first agreed with them that they shall sit only for four days, during which they shall despatch writs into the provinces to cause the election of a new Parliament, excepting only Royalists and Sectaries, and without binding them by any oath: all the troops are also to be disbanded, with the exception of those under General Monk, and the militia will be entrusted to the hands of the gentlemen of the country. A new Council of State will be elected, and all that has been done by the Parliament since 1648 will be ratified. Besides these conditions, a promise has been made to Monk to constitute him General of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland. I postpone until Thursday's post such particulars of this important change as may come to my knowledge; for I have now only time to subscribe myself with respect, etc.

35.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 4, 1660.

My Lord,

The letter which I wrote to your Eminence on the day before yesterday, arrived at Dover in time enough to be taken by the post of the 1st of this month, and will already have informed you that General Monk has restored the members of Parliament who were excluded in 1648, and of the principal conditions agreed on between them. This change, very important when we consider the consequences it may entail, took place without any opposition or ceremony whatever, and with such secrecy that, although it had been concerted with many persons on the 1st of this month, when the General returned, on the next day morning, from the City to Whitehall with most of his troops, Sir Arthur Haslerig and those of his faction went immediately to visit him, being persuaded that he had returned with the intention of remaining steadfast in

their interests. He disabused them of this idea, and, after having communicated to them his resolution, invited them to continue their session, professing that he still held the same views with regard to the form of the government; which occasioned them urgently to request that he would at least oblige these members to take the oath against the monarchy which he himself seemed to have approved. He declined to do so, saying that it was an act of useless circumspection, as it had appeared to him that most of them were well-intentioned towards the republic. They were obliged to be satisfied with this answer, and just at that time, the excluded members having come to wait upon the General, he told them that his cares had not been able to arrest the course of the divisions which existed amongst them, and that several conferences had been held to that end without success, but that at last he had received entire satisfaction from them, and had given them the trouble to call upon him in order that he might declare his views to them more freely than in past times; and that, through fear of being misunderstood, as he often had been before, he had reduced to writing the heads of his speech, which he would now have read to them. At the commencement, he declares that he has perceived that the peace and establishment of the nation depended, after God, on their hands; praises their wisdom, piety, and disinterestedness; and affirms that he has entire confidence that they will show all necessary readiness to repair past evils. He next professes that he contemplates nothing but the glory of God and the establishment of the nation upon the foundation of a republic, and that he wishes to impose nothing upon them likely to restrain their liberty in making future establishments, but only represents to them, that as the old government has been broken up, it can be reconstructed only upon the ruins of the people, who have pledged themselves in defence of the Parliament and of religion, and that, if the King returns, his power will become arbitrary. He speaks afterwards of the City of London as the bulwark

of the Parliaments, makes its happiness depend upon a republican government, and presupposes that under any other, it cannot become the metropolis of the commerce of all Christendom, to which rank God and nature seem to have destined it. He also proves to them that, upon religious grounds, monarchy cannot again be introduced, because it would bring with it that system of prelacy against which the nation has pledged itself so solemnly; and insinuates that a moderate Presbyterian government, with sufficient liberty for really tender consciences, is the most suitable that can just now be established. The interest of the nobles who have joined with the people is not forgotten; the General judges it advisable that, as the state of the three nations is such that another House of Parliament cannot be suffered, some hereditary distinction should be given them which may make them appear more noble to posterity. His conclusion of the whole speech is an invitation to the members to go and promptly take their seats in order to settle the conduct of the armies in such a manner that they may contribute to the peace and security of the country, and not to its ruin; to provide for the future maintenance of all the forces both by land and sea, as well as for the payment of their arrears and the other necessities of the Government; to form a Council of State, with authority to provide for the civil government and the administration of justice, both in Ireland and Scotland, and also to issue writs for the convocation of a Parliament of the three united nations on the 30th of April next, with qualifications which shall assure the safety of the cause in which he and the others are engaged, and according to the division of the country effected in the year 1654; which Parliament, thus convoked, shall be able to assemble and act with all liberty for a more perfect establishment of the republic, without a King, single ruler, or House of Lords, and that finally the Parliament shall legally dissolve itself, in order to make way for others. He then finished by an assurance that the guards would allow the excluded mem-

bers to resume their seats, that himself and the officers under his command and all the soldiers of the three nations would shed their blood for them and successive Parliaments; but that if their counsels tend to other objects, force and violence will immediately return, and all hopes of the long-desired settlement will be buried in disorder. The members went, with this mission, to resume their places before the others had taken their seats, and found the infantry drawn up in line in Westminster Hall, with crowds of people who expressed exceeding joy. They found themselves to be sixty in number, and the Speaker having arrived with twenty of the others, they began by revoking all the Acts passed against themselves since their election, even the protest which they had entered against the violence of the army, and the resolutions taken subsequently to fill up their places by new elections. General Monk was afterwards declared Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief under the Parliament of all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and Vice-Admiral Lawson was confirmed in the command of the fleet. The appointment of the five commissioners, named a few days before to govern the army, was also revoked; the deputies from some of the counties, and the citizens of London were set at liberty; and the Governor of the Tower was ordered to give an account on the next day of the reasons of the imprisonment of Sir George Booth and another of the same party; all the orders given by the Council of State or the Commissioners of the Army since the last day of last week were suspended until they had been communicated to General Monk; and the power of the Council of State was also suspended until new orders should be received from the Parliament, which met in the afternoon, and restored the Common Council which had been dissolved, permitted the Mayor of London to replace the City gates and chains at the public expense, and decided upon forming a new Council of State, composed of thirty-one persons, of whom General Monk was declared one, and the election of the others was deferred

until to-morrow morning. Orders were also given for the liberation of several prisoners, among others, of three Scottish Earls who had been in confinement for ten years; and the Speaker was directed to summon all the absent members to come and take their places as quickly as possible. The Acts passed against Major-General Browne, a timber-merchant in London, who has greatly distinguished himself of late, were abrogated, and liberty was given him to resume his place in the House. Sir George Booth was also set at liberty on giving surety that he would answer to the charges brought against him. An Act was then passed for the continuation of the customs and excise duties, another for the convocation of a Parliament on the 25th of April next, and commissioners were appointed to decide on the qualifications of those who are eligible for election; others were directed to confer with the Mayor of London about a loan for the payment of the army and fleet, and to agree with him upon the securities for repayment. The majority of the Acts proposed on the previous evening were again read and approved, and the nomination of the Council of State again deferred to this morning: it has nevertheless not yet been completed, and it is said that General Monk is desirous that the Parliament should choose some of the old members, among others, Haslerig and Mr. Scott, who appeared to be his greatest opponents, and who are very distinguished among the Republicans. Deputies were sent from the City to-day to congratulate and thank the Parliament; they have also offered it a considerable sum of money, and the people are for the present so well satisfied, that it will have no difficulty in obtaining the necessary assistance from them. Their joy did not appear to be less on the evening of the day before yesterday than it was on the day when Monk entered the City; during all the evening and night, bonfires and festivities were kept up, and in many places the King's health was not forgotten. Orders have been given to communicate this news without delay to the whole of the country,

and, in order to retain the distant troops in obedience to the present authorities, a letter has been published from General Monk and all the officers under his command, giving reasons for the recent change, and assuring them that all the acts and ordinances of the Parliament, in reference to the sale of lands confiscated or given in payment to the soldiers, will be confirmed; it further promises them prompt payment of that which is due to them, exhorts them to take care that the tranquillity of the republic is not disturbed by the partisans of Charles Stuart or any other authority, and invites them to send as soon as possible one of their number to give assurance of their acquiescence in the present Government, the inclinations of which are nevertheless esteemed to be Royalist. I know that some of the most active amongst them hold these views; and it is consequently the generally received opinion, that if the declarations of General Monk and his officers are in conformity with their opinions, they will at some future time have great difficulty in preventing the return of the King upon the conditions which were formerly offered to his father in the Isle of Wight. It may moreover be presumed that General Monk intends to recall him, that all these demonstrations which he gives by word of mouth, by writing, and by the unfavourable reception of all who wish to treat upon this point with him, may be affected, through fear lest, if he should make known these views, the greater part of the forces both by land and sea would rise in opposition against him; the prolongation of the command of the Vice-Admiral cannot be attributed to any other cause, as he is a man greatly esteemed by the fleet, but a Sectary, and in consequence not very agreeable to the Presbyterians, who are now in possession of the supreme power. These are reflections which are made upon the present condition of England, and nevertheless we cannot yet form a decisive opinion upon the future, as there is so little clue in all the actions and words of those upon whom the fate of the Government depends, and as it still appears that

Monk intends to maintain the establishment of the republic. And if he thought to make himself commander of all the forces, he has now perfectly attained his object; but he will have some difficulty to maintain himself against the general desire and bent of the whole nation, as he does not possess so vigorous a mind as the deceased Protector, and has to do with skilful adversaries who propose to place the militia in the hands of the nobility of the country, who are all Royalists, and thus to strengthen them against the army, if it should attempt to thwart their plans. It was said that the Parliament would not sit longer than the end of the week, but a longer time is now spoken of, as it is not possible to settle affairs in so short a time, although the greatest diligence is displayed, and this afternoon, the Council of State was elected, without attending to the General's recommendation in favour of some of the old members. The qualifications of the deputies to the Parliament have also been decided upon, without excepting the Sectaries, so as not to do them the honour of appearing to fear them. Those who have been actually in arms against the Parliament are alone excepted. The Secretary of State has also been dismissed; a proposition was made to call some of the nobles into the Council, but they have given the Government to understand that, without injuring their prerogative, they could not form part of it, and this refusal is founded upon the hope that their House will be re-established.

36.] M. DE SCHOMBERG TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

Calais, March 6, 1660.

I sent information to my secretary of the symptoms of great coming changes in England, that he might communicate it to your Eminence, and spare you the trouble of reading my letters. On my arrival here yesterday, I was told that M. de

Bordeaux had sent a packet after the post, which will I think have confirmed your Eminence in the knowledge that the Rump Parliament is at an end, and that the secluded members have resumed their seats. An express arrived yesterday who is going to the King of England, and who left London on the evening of the 2nd; my Lord Mordaunt writes me that he has sent him to inform the King that the members who were excluded in the year 1648, and who were in London, have re-entered Parliament; and that it has been resolved to recall all those who have had seats in the House since 1640. The Parliament, at its first meeting, declared Monk Captain-General of the three kingdoms; Ireland has declared for a free Parliament; and Scotland has sent deputies, who are expected to arrive in London in a few days, with the same object in view. The Major-General has sent me word that in a few days he will be summoned to attend the Parliament with Brown, as Booth, who has been liberated from the Tower, has been received already in the House; these are leaders of the Presbyterians, who were labouring to restore the King of England on conditions similar to those which they proposed to the late King when he was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight.

The post from London has just arrived: I have received a letter by an express whom my Lord A—— is sending to the King of England, which informs me that he is in the Parliament which is now assembled; which confirms what I have written, that the three kingdoms have declared for a free Parliament, and that information is sent to the King of the state of affairs, the opinions of those who are in his interest, and the manner in which they think he ought to answer the propositions which will be made to him. Lockhart was then at the door of the Parliament, to urge his immediate return to Dunkirk. As the Spaniards have now entered the towns which the French lately occupied, Dunkirk is under a kind of blockade. A—— answered that there was no likelihood that the Spaniards would have blockaded the town, as they were seek-

ing to make peace so urgently, and had even offered to order the King of England out of their territories; that there were other affairs of greater importance; and that it was necessary to refer the matter to Monk, who would send them a plan of action. Desborough, with some other officers, had assembled four thousand men to back Haslerig and the other leaders of the Parliament lately in power; but they have all gone into hiding, and the Parliament has ordered Desborough to come and justify himself for having collected troops and pillaged Exeter: from the general feeling of the inhabitants of the provinces, it may be judged that all have declared for the re-establishment of the King. As the post is on the point of starting, I cannot send all the particulars to your Eminence. On the 3rd of this month, I delivered Bergues into the hands of the person who had the proper order from the Marquis de Carracena. I am now going to Paris, whence I shall make arrangements to pay a visit to your Eminence, unless you send me other orders by my secretary, who has now been with your Eminence for a fortnight. I very humbly beg you to do me the favour to remember me.

37.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

London, March 8, 1660.

Sir,

I was not surprised when I saw in the letter which it pleased you to write to me on the 1st of this month, by my courier, an account of the reports prevalent in France of the proclamation of the King of England. The joy with which General Monk was received in the City of London, and the bias exhibited by the people on that day, gave good reasons for supposing that all was ready here for the reception of that Prince. Nothing has since occurred of a nature to change this opinion, and nevertheless we cannot but praise the moderation

with which the Queen of England and her Ministers receive such news, when we consider the inconstancy of the people, and the uncertainty of the real opinions of the army under the command of General Monk. His officers are not so blindly obedient to him as to be willing to remain in ignorance of his plans, and, as early as last week, they manifested their disapprobation of the conduct of the Parliament, because it tended to the restoration of the monarchy. Their Commander pacified them with assurances that all the readmitted deputies had pledged themselves to act in conformity with the document which he had delivered to them before they resumed their seats. This suspicion did not fail to excite the alarm of the Parliament, as it followed immediately after the advice given them by the General to dissolve in a few days, and leave the Council of State to govern until the 15th of April next, when other representatives of the people will commence their sittings. At the same time there also arose some dispute between the General and the City, because the former had opposed the establishment of the militia; but, on the evening of the day before yesterday, he was assured that he should be its Commander, which had at first been refused him, under the pretext that such an employment was beneath the dignity of the General of all the forces of the republic. In fact, though it was not judged advisable to entrust so much power to the hands of one single person, this scruple had to be overcome, in order not to displease the General, who had also been obliged to consent to the wishes of the citizens, although with some risk of his authority, in order to obtain from them —— pounds sterling, which they would not advance until they received permission to organize their militia. Fate would have it that whilst this question was being treated, news arrived from the country which made him decide in favour of the citizens. On the day before yesterday, certain intelligence came that one of the Colonels of the army had gathered together some of the old troops at thirty leagues distance from London. A regi-

ment of cavalry and the General's company of guards set out yesterday to disperse these insurgents, whose leader is not so rash or senseless as to have taken arms without feeling great confidence that many others would follow his example, and especially the Sectaries, who are very discontented with the present Government. Doubts are even entertained about the General's own troops; and if they failed him, great confusion would immediately prevail in England, whereas if they remain devoted to his interests, and he to those of the Parliament, the nobility and the City of London, the party of Sectaries would not be able to rise again; and their arming will only serve to reduce the General to the necessity of making an earlier accommodation with the Royalists, unless he has already made one, which his actions would lead us to believe, although his declarations are of an opposite character. I saw the General this morning, taking as a pretext for my visit the civilities which I have received from him on different occasions; and after some general compliments, I informed him that the Court of France would be glad to hear that the forces of England were under the command of a person of such great merit and so well-affectioned towards the nation; accompanying this compliment by personal offers. He began by referring to matters of public interest, spoke to me of our peace with Spain, and of the affairs of Sweden, but from his whole discourse I can only gather that he is well-intentioned towards this Crown, that he would have wished England to have been included in the treaty, and that he hopes that the next Parliament will establish a stable government here. Last week the present Government approved of the commissioners presented to it to organize the London militia. It has also superseded a number of officers, and appointed others in their stead; and is still debating the qualifications for the next Parliament, as well as the form of the writs which are to be issued; upon which question some deputies discovered that in order to act legally they must convoke it in the name of the

King. With regard to the taxes, it has been resolved to invite the people to pay them in accordance with the Act passed before the return of the excluded members. The General's commission has been approved, and accompanied by the gift of Hampton Court, with the lands adjoining, for himself and his heirs. The circuit which the Judges usually make through the provinces at this season has been postponed to another time, and pardon granted to a number of condemned criminals. The Act establishing the Council of State and limiting their powers, was passed only the day before yesterday: it contains a very remarkable clause, authority being given it to imprison even members of Parliament, notwithstanding that this is contrary to all usage. The Ministers of whom it is composed will begin their sittings on this very day and will create their officers. Mr. Thurloe has returned upon the stage in the quality of Secretary of State, but with Thompson, the Auditor-general, for his colleague. This choice must not surprise you, since the chief men of the Council are the same who had great share in the government under the deceased Protector, whose son has again been proposed to General Monk by the very persons who overthrew him, his restoration appearing to them to be less injurious than that of the King; and in all probability he would be preferred to him, however little he may be esteemed, as the return of the latter is as much apprehended by the Presbyterians as by those who have been engaged in the recent movements in England. To-day it will be determined upon what day the Parliament will dissolve, and all to-morrow will be passed in thanksgivings.

38.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 8, 1660.

My Lord,

There does not appear to me to be any change in the inclinations of the Government of England, and the duplicate of

my letter to M. de Brienne having informed you of what has taken place during the last three days, it only remains for me to add that Ireland has sent hither a Declaration in entire conformity with the course of conduct pursued by General Monk. It professes that the peace of the three nations cannot be established without a free Parliament, or the readmission of the excluded members, and the terms of this document show that still greater dispositions exist to return to the old form of government. The officers who held other views retired into Dublin Castle, where they were besieged by the others and taken without bloodshed, as the garrison made no attempt to defend themselves. This change is partly attributed to the news which the army had received of the restoration of the officers whom it had expelled, and among others of Lieutenant-General Ludlow; but if this declaration be an actual one, it must have been projected in concert with General Monk before his departure from Scotland, and expressions may be remarked in it similar to his own on the subject of the Sectaries. It has also just been reported to me that the militia of London has been countermanded this evening, which would afford reasons for believing that the troops gathered together by some old Colonels, great Sectaries, had submitted, or that, as the City has paid the money which was desired of it, the General is less careful to pleasure it. As the officers are not nominated by him but by commissioners approved by the Parliament, although he is Major-General of the militia, his power over it would not be very absolute. Preparations are being made for arming that of the Lowlands, and placing it in other hands than it has been in of late; and all the officers of police whom the Parliament had appointed before the admission of the excluded members have been changed, and the new ones are said to be very much inclined towards the restoration of the monarchy. Mr. Lockhart is still in London, and nothing has been said as yet in regard to foreign affairs. As the Council of State only began to sit on Saturday evening, if it

is animated by the same spirit as the General, the interests of the King of Sweden will receive very great consideration.

39.]. M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 15, 1660.

My Lord,

The internal affairs of England are in the same state as my preceding letter informed you they were, and the conduct of General Monk continues to induce the belief that his inclinations are for the recall of the King, although his words are opposed to it. The troops in London and elsewhere also profess to feel great repugnance thereto; and the officers having a day or two since brought this question under discussion, they were of opinion that if the republic could not be established, at least the King and the last Protector ought to be excluded from the government, and they appeared more inclined to raise their General to the throne than any other. Although he has expressed his disapprobation of these consultations, people have not failed to entertain the idea that they may be intended to suggest to the Parliament what it ought to do; but this body would with difficulty be led to place any other but the legitimate Sovereign upon the throne, as it perceives that such a course would plunge the nation into continual troubles, and its debates seem to be preparing the way for the King's return. A few days since it passed an Act for the levy of the militia of London and the country under the command of General Monk, without however leaving him power to dispose of the commissions, which have all been given to Royalists. It has also declared him, together with Colonel Montague, Colonel of the Sea, and the latter has orders to proceed to the fleet without delay. Besides the establishment of the militia, and the confirmation of the choice made by the Council of State, of Messrs. Thompson and

Thurloe as Secretaries of State, the Parliament further decided, last week, upon what shall be the national religion: this will be a Confession of Faith which was presented to it in 1646, in conformity with the opinion of our Calvinists; and in future no one will be admitted to a living until he has subscribed to it. This matter occasioned them to speak of the Covenant, and to propose an order to have it read in the parishes, so that the people may be reminded of their engagements. As mention is made therein of the King and nobility, this will in some sort dispose the minds of men to return to the old form of government. It was also determined last week that the Parliament should dissolve at the very latest on the 25th of this month, and a debate arose on the form of the writs and on the qualifications of the representatives who are to succeed them, but was not brought to a conclusion. A number of prisoners were again liberated, Sir George Booth and all his party discharged from further prosecution, and the city and county of Chester restored to their privileges. As this Act of Indemnity extends also to those who were then in the service of the Parliament, General Lambert has begun to reappear in public. This morning an order was issued directing the Catholics to remain confined in their houses, under the pretext that they are in correspondence with the Sectaries, some of whom have openly declared against this Government, among others the garrison of Hull, and Vice-Admiral Lawson, who has been trying to alienate the fleet; some of the old troops have also revolted in the country, and five companies of infantry have seized upon the town of Gloucester. But unless all the troops follow this bad example, these movements will not have any results of importance. The City of London continues to caress and humour the General, and last week deputies were sent by the citizens to present him with the command of the militia. Letters have been received from the army in Ireland in conformity with the declaration which appeared last week, and the latest news from that country is, that on the 3rd inst. a meeting was to be held to consider

what means they had of maintaining themselves, in case England did not entertain the same views. This is, my Lord, all that I have to write of the actions and deliberations which have occurred here.

I will add a piece of news which will doubtless surprise your Eminence, if you have not heard it already; and that is, the death of the King of Sweden. A ship which arrived lately at Hull brought the intelligence, together with a new Minister to represent that Crown. Those already here have as yet received no public letters, though they have heard from some private friends who confirm the statement, and assert that Prince Adolphus, the guardian of the young King (who is a minor), will have the regency of the kingdom. This circumstance will cause the Government here to adopt new counsels with regard to the affairs of the North: the ambassador of Holland still continues his endeavours to persuade this Government to carry into execution the last treaties signed between the two commonwealths. The Portuguese ambassador has also renewed his efforts to obtain some answers to the offers which he made to the previous Council of State; but he does not find the present Council so well disposed towards him. For my part, I have not yet had any occasion to see the Ministers of this State; if they appeared to me desirous to meddle with our taxes, I should not fail to remind them of the liberty which we reserved to ourselves, by the last treaties, to do each in his own country, what he should think fit. Mr. Lockhart is about to return to Dunkirk; if, before his departure, he does not agree to some accommodation of the dispute which has occurred between him and the Government of Calais, I shall speak to the Council, who will doubtless bring him to reason.

P.S. I learn that Mr. Lambert has been sent to the Tower this evening; and the Ministers of Sweden have sent to request me to transmit to their colleagues in France a despatch informing them of the death of their master.

40.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 18, 1660.

My Lord,

I have received to-day the two letters which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 26th of last month and the 5th of the present. My previous letters will have informed you that I have forestalled the order which you give me in your first regarding General Monk, as I have already paid him a visit, and told him that the King and your Eminence would be delighted to hear that the forces of England were under his command, and that you would contribute to the furtherance of his plans. I will not fail to reiterate the same sentiments to him by means of a third person, if he objects to receive a second visit. At my first interview I did not fail to touch upon all matters likely to discover his inclinations towards France, and he seemed to me to speak reproachfully, although rather in raillery, of the peace between France and Spain, because England had not been included in it. I however obliged him at last to confess that the foreign affairs of the country were entirely new to him. He then referred to the wars of the North, and asked me whether we should not continue to assist the King of Sweden; appearing to advocate this monarch's interests with considerable warmth, I pointed out to him that France alone had maintained this principle, and that, in order to secure it against all its enemies, it was necessary that England should speak and act in conformity with what his Majesty had done both at Frankfort and at the Hague, in order to compel the Emperor and the States-General to take some measures for an accommodation; I even offered to have a private conference with the Ministers of the Council of State, in order to concert measures for its advancement. This language cannot but be very agreeable to him, as his hatred of the United Provinces has always been very great,—so great, indeed, that when the deceased Protector sent

him to command the fleet he was not contented with combating them on the sea, but wished to make a descent upon the coast and attack Flushing, which he felt sure of capturing. The Protector did not judge it advisable to go to such lengths against the Provinces, but rather to make peace with them, through fear of their maritime power; and so he sent the General into Scotland, whence he was never afterwards able to withdraw him, nor could the Protector Richard induce him to take up his defence. If your Eminence has anything to insinuate to him, I can easily do it through his confidants. In my previous letters I dwelt at considerable length upon the conduct pursued by this General, and the opinions entertained of it. People are now beginning to think that his ambition is not so limited, and that he aspires to the sovereignty; that, in order to attain to it, he permits the restoration of the monarchy to be spoken of in the Parliament in very undisguised language, and allows the militia both in London and the country to be placed under the command of Royalists, in order that the troops, becoming jealous, may unite with him, and adopt his interests, to which they have at first manifested considerable aversion; but whatever may be the General's intentions, he is allowing matters to take a very decided turn in favour of the King. And on the first day of this week the Parliament decreed that the Covenant made at the commencement of the wars in England should be read in all the parishes, and fixed up in the House of Parliament. As this engagement speaks in very express terms of the defence of the King, and of his just authority, the troops have immediately taken the alarm at it, and the officers at their meeting yesterday proposed a requisition tending to the suppression of the monarchy and of the House of Lords. They went this morning to communicate it to the General, in order to obtain his approbation before presenting it; but he opposed it, declaring that he would not allow the Parliament to be constrained in its votes; he even treated some of the officers, who appeared

to be more animated than the others, with harshness; but he nevertheless stated that the object of the requisition was a good and just one, and undertook to confer upon the matter with some members of Parliament this evening. Many occasions have taken place of late on which this assembly has manifested its inclination towards the King, even so far as to receive with thanks addresses in which it was termed only the House of Commons, and to disapprove of others which gave it the title of sovereign authority; it has even been declared that another Parliament could not legitimately be called without the Lords, and that, in consequence of the King's death, the present Parliament is at an end. These private opinions would be of less weight if all the appointments, both in the militia and the police, were not given to Royalists; and two days ago the government of Hull, whose garrison has declared against the present authorities, was conferred by the General, on the recommendation of the Parliament, upon a person strongly inclined towards that party. The Republicans have nevertheless resumed courage since the meeting of the officers; and now that all are entered into the Parliament, their number is rather considerable. Yesterday, Sir Arthur Haslerig and Colonel Rich (who had tried to induce the Sectaries to revolt), after having been heard in their own defence, were the first discharged, and the other sent back to the Council, who put him in arrest. As for General Lambert, his imprisonment in the Tower has been approved, although he is confined only in default of having given surety for his future conduct. Some regulations concerning religion have also been made during the last few days, and debates will be permitted only upon this matter, or the militia and the qualifications of the ensuing Parliament, until the day of the dissolution of the present, which will be in eight days, unless some change takes place. The Republicans will strive to prolong its session, and instead of convoking a new representative assembly, to fill up the vacant places so as to perpetuate this one. Some Royalists appear to apprehend it, and others to be desirous to have the

merit of making establishments instead of putting them off, although the excluded members pledged themselves, before their readmission, to introduce no changes into the government, but to convoke another free Parliament, to whose enactments the General has promised and still professes that he will submit. There is no news from Ireland; and public rumour still affirms that the army there is very well disposed towards the King, and that it has even sent to treat with him. Scotland is very tranquil, according to the promise which the principal nobility made to the General before his departure, and the resolution to restore the Covenant will give them great satisfaction. The movements which occurred at Gloucester and some other places have subsided of themselves; and the troops which the Governor of Hull attempted to excite by his declaration, have continued in their obedience; the Vice-Admiral also, as it was reported, raised the mask; but his intentions are still suspected, as he is a great Sectary. The City of London has organized its militia without giving much consideration to the persons whom the General had recommended; but it has nevertheless continued to caress and regale him very greatly.

A courier has arrived from the English plenipotentiaries in Denmark, to request fresh instructions in consequence of the death of the King of Sweden. Their letters also state that the Queen has been declared Regent, and is to be assisted in her administration by Prince Adolphus, Generalissimo of all the forces, the Count de Lagarde, Chancellor, the Count de Brahé, Admiral Flanny, and General Wrangel. It is also said that the King has, by his will, recommended peace with Denmark, but that that Prince now appears less disposed to peace than he formerly was. I will end my despatch, my Lord, by offering my very humble thanks for the orders which your Eminence has issued for the payment of a part of that which is due to me; and I beg that ere long you will give your further consideration to the bad state of my affairs.

41.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 22, 1660.

My Lord,

Since my letter of the 18th, the General and some officers have had a conference with some members of Parliament, in which the former demanded an Act of Indemnity for all the past, that the sales of confiscated property shall be confirmed, that the Government shall be constituted without a King or House of Lords, and that the militia shall not be organized. Nothing was granted to them, under the pretext that the present Parliament could not do it validly; and they were referred to the next, with which they appeared satisfied. Their General has not failed to remove most of them out of the way, commanding them to withdraw each to his own quarters; which order they obeyed to-day. Meanwhile the Parliament has continued its debates upon the establishment of the militia, and this morning concluded this very important business, notwithstanding the opposition of the Republicans, who have only obtained that no one shall be employed therein before he has acknowledged that the late wars were just and for the good of the country. An Act also has been passed approving of all that the Parliament had done from the commencement of its session until 1648, when the members were excluded; and now the universal talk is of the dissolution of this assembly in three days, as the General hopes to execute his designs more easily under a new one than with the present. His conduct still confirms the King's return. The Republicans agree with the Royalists in thinking so; and there does not appear sufficient resolution among the troops to prevent him. Some officers who attempted to excite them to mutiny have been arrested, and the Governor of Hull has received the law from those whom the General had sent to him. There is no news from either Scotland, Ireland, or abroad.

I learn that accounts have just arrived from Ireland which

declare that the army has proclaimed the King, and that Colonel Cooke has gone over to Flanders. If this news is true, the next post will bring its confirmation.

42.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 25, 1660.

My Lord,

The news which I added to my last letter has proved untrue; and although the army in Ireland appears inclined to recall the King, it will probably postpone any declaration until some Government is established in England. You will judge from my previous letters that everything concurs to the restoration of the monarchy. The Parliament has moreover lately erased from its Journals the Act of Abjuration of a King or any single ruler, and has appointed commissioners to examine into what has passed against the House of Lords, with some intention of restoring it to authority. Nevertheless, for the last twenty-four hours, there has been much uncertainty in the course of events, because the officers of the army in London continue loudly to threaten, and propose a declaration against the King, the nobility, and the levy of the militia. At the present time, nine o'clock in the evening, they are assembled; and as hitherto the officers have never deferred to their other commanders when once they have been aroused, every one expects some great event before long; otherwise the militia would be organized, and in a position to oppose the designs of the army. On the other side, the Parliament is assembled for a few hours more, part of the deputies being desirous to terminate their session to-day, and the others opposing it. With this view different propositions are being made to gain time: the General presses their dissolution, and the Royalists think it advantageous; but some of the readmitted members having changed sides and joined the old

Parliamentarians, the House is nearly equally divided. If this night, which seems to be critical, produces any important resolution, I will send it by an express to Calais. I have only time to add that the qualifications of the future Parliament were concluded yesterday evening. The most important is the exclusion of those who have been in arms against the Parliament, and of their children. This morning, when the Act conferring Hampton Court upon the General was read for the last time, according to custom, objections were brought against it; and a proposition having been made to give him £20,000 sterling in money instead, the question was postponed to another time. Some regulations were also made in reference to religion. The same Act which compels the officers of the militia to acknowledge that the war undertaken by the two Houses of Parliament to defend themselves against the forces levied in the name of the King was just and legitimate, enacts also that they shall acknowledge the ministry and magistracy to be of God's appointment. I have nothing to communicate of a more positive character regarding the General than I wrote by my preceding letters; his conduct and words still continue to be opposed to each other, and he keeps on good terms with the City of London. The Royalists hope that he is in their favour, and others that he intends to raise himself to the Crown. Some members of Parliament have the idea of placing the Duke of Gloucester upon the throne, and through him ensuring themselves against inquiries into the past. It is by no means easy to judge what will be the issue of all the present intrigues.

43.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 25, 1660.

My Lord,

I have delayed writing the present to as late a period as possible, so as to be able to send you some news worthy of

communication to you, and particularly to inform you with certainty that the Parliament was dissolved, and that because it was the common report. However as it is past ten o'clock, and the House is still sitting, no one can say positively what they will determine on till to-morrow; only I will tell you one thing which I saw with my own eyes, and that is that about seven o'clock in the evening, some soldiers, accompanied by divers other persons, came to the Exchange with ladders, and proceeded to efface what had been written above the statue of the late King, to the effect that he had been thrown out of that place (I mean the statue had been) because he was a tyrant: this thing was done very peaceably, and amid great acclamations from the people, who were there in great numbers, just as if it had been full 'Change: moreover bonfires were lighted in the midst of the Exchange, with shouts of "God save the King!" I stayed there until the last moment to endeavour to learn something worthy of being communicated to you.

44.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, March 29, 1660.

My Lord,

I have given so full an answer to what M. de Brienne wrote me on the 9th of this month by your Eminence's courier, that I have nothing to add thereto regarding the present condition of England, as nothing has occurred of any importance since the 25th, except the voluntary dissolution of the Parliament, after it had given the necessary orders for the convocation of another, which is to commence its sittings on the 5th of May next, and for the levy of the militia in all the counties, under the command of the principal nobility and gentry, without excluding those who took arms under Sir George Booth. General Monk wrote to the Parliament to suspend this Act; and whether because his officers were satisfied with

this diligence, or have been otherwise pacified, that great murmuring, which exhibited itself among them three days ago, has changed into complete silence and submission, although the levy of the militia is considered as their ruin. The rest of the people are very quiet; and all await the meeting of Parliament, in the hope of beholding a great revolution in the Government. It appears that the Council of State is desirous also to make sure of the navy by the preparations which are making; and Admiral Montague, who is restored to the command, is to proceed to the fleet without delay. The last letters from Ireland represent that great uniformity of opinions exists between the army and the Assembly which was held in Dublin, this last body having approved of the Declaration of the other in favour of a free Parliament, and the readmission of the excluded members; but both are desirous that in future the Irish Parliament may be held, and that no levy shall be made in the country without its consent, as was the case in past times. The great changes which this nation has of late undergone, and its poverty through want of commerce, have given rise to this desire. I have not yet performed what your Eminence ordered me with regard to the General. I shall do it to-morrow; and by the next post I shall answer the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 13th, it having been delivered too late for me to discharge this duty to-day.

45.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

London, March 29, 1660.

Sir,

I announced by the previous mail, my reception of the letter which it pleased you to write to me on the 9th of last month, and reserved my answer until to-day; and in reply to your question I must say that it is considered, and with great reason, that England, after having made trial of so many govern-

ments, none of which have been able to establish themselves, will prefer a monarchy to the others, and that the King has now great reason for strong hopes, as the nobles and the people desire his return with greater ardour than they formerly exhibited in overthrowing the authority of his predecessor. It is also no less certain that the actions of the General authorize the belief that his intentions are in conformity with the wishes of the nation, although he professes the contrary; and this unanimity having persuaded me that the King's return was, as it were, certain, the idea occurred to me, before I received any orders, to induce, if possible, the present Government to invite the mediation of his Majesty, and to receive their sovereign from his hands rather than from those of Spain: to which it seemed to me that the Presbyterians, who are now in power, might be disposed, that they might have a powerful guarantee of all the conditions upon which they would admit their Prince. The attempt however which I have made by means of persons interested in the success of this negotiation, has not yet produced the desired effect, and this is an overture which could not be made without danger by a private person before the authorities had taken all the requisite precautions for changing the government without involving the country in a war. It is also to be feared that the party-leaders who ought to support such a proposition will be diverted from it by the personal advantages which they will derive from private treaties. Already even, the principal posts under the Crown are said to be destined for some of them, in which case it is not to be expected that they will take much care to provide for the public interests, or that they will have recourse to foreign mediation, which the King of England will endeavour to avoid, so as not to be indebted to any other power for his restoration. The same opinion may be held regarding General Monk, it being to be presumed that he will not consent to give up the sovereignty which he now enjoys in all but the name, and become a subject, unless he is assured of all the

advantages that the King can grant him, to deserve which he will desire alone to have the glory of replacing him on the throne, and will not avail himself of the offers of France except in case of extremity; besides which, it being necessary for the accomplishment of such a design, that he should deceive his army and profess himself a Republican, he will make great difficulties about listening to any proposition which may force him to declare himself. These difficulties will not prevent me from doing all in my power for the performance of my orders, and with this view, I shall avail myself of one of those most interested in the fortune of the General, who has already conveyed to him very obliging messages from me, even so far as to assure him that his Majesty would contribute to his elevation. It has seemed to him advisable to dispose him by these marks of esteem to give a better reception to the other propositions with which I might be charged; I am also making preparations for sounding some of the principal members of the Council who have, in former times, declared their intentions to me so openly in favour of the King that they will not take in bad part anything respecting him; and finally, Sir, it is enough to stimulate my little industry and all my cares to know that this service is so agreeable to the King, and so much desired by his Eminence. It may be effected during the interregnum, as it is not to be supposed that any government will be formed before the meeting of the next Parliament; that one which dates its origin from 1640, has at last voluntarily dissolved upon the 26th of this month. Up to this moment every one had doubted its dissolution, and it was thought that the deputies of whom this assembly was composed would rather recall the King than leave the merit of that step to others, even if it would not besides have been to their interest to efface in this way the recollection of the evils which they have caused. The will of the General prevailed over these considerations, and there appeared only three voices against so violent a resolution, which was adopted, after having left the Council

of State rather ample powers, and passed an Act for the Convocation of the new Parliament, including the clause that it should not be prejudicial to the rights of the nobility, which some even wished to extend to the prerogatives of the King; the establishment of the militia was also determined upon, notwithstanding the letter which the General wrote on the same day to the Speaker to suspend it. He showed this zeal in order to satisfy his officers and some Republicans; but the deputies whom the Parliament sent to him induced him by their reasons to cease his opposition. It is affirmed nevertheless that he has promised to prevent its execution in order to appease the army, the intentions of which appear in a very different aspect from that which they exhibited last week. It is also stated as a fact that, on the evening before the Parliament dissolved, the General made use of very precise language towards the Republicans, and some of them spoke against royalty with their last breath; nevertheless his conduct shows that he is more and more favourable to a monarchical government, and he has of late given the command of towns, vessels, and troops to notorious Royalists. The greater part of the militia of the country has been placed in their hands; Sir George Booth is even to command that of Cheshire; and there arrive daily from Flanders persons known to be attached to the King, and no inquiries are made about their movements. No words could be capable of effacing the impression produced by this behaviour; and consequently no one doubts that, unless the army revolts soon, it will be obliged to receive the law and consent to its own destruction, which is projected by changing the old officers, and reorganizing all the corps one after another. The Council of State began to meet on the day before yesterday, and its first step has been to issue, to-day, public prohibitions of all assemblies under any pretext whatever; a proclamation to send back the Royalists and Catholics to their ordinary places of residence, and another to make the officers withdraw to their quarters. The first two

seem to have been framed only with a view to give a colour to the last, as it is not a great mortification to send the nobility back to the country, whither they are moreover summoned by the election of the members of Parliament, which now occupies all minds.

The Council was making preparations to work to-day at the affairs of Sweden, in order to despatch a courier to the plenipotentiaries in the Sound, with fresh powers and instructions, the Ministers of Sweden having begged me, in this conjuncture, to renew my good offices in their favour, I have done so this morning, and proposed a conference in order to concert measures for advancing peace in those quarters. If the present Ministers are less inclined towards the Dutch than their predecessors were, they will adopt no resolution without communicating it to me, and I shall do all in my power to persuade them at least to observe neutrality, if they will not act against the last conventions between the two republics. The renunciation which the directors of Swedish affairs have lately made of the bailiwick of Drontheim without demanding any compensation, ought to remove all difficulties out of the way of this negotiation; and only the hope of help from England, if the King is restored, can lead the Danes to expect any greater advantages, after the words spoken by M. de Thou in the assembly of the States-General. I do not see that it is advisable to speak here in such positive terms of the Treaty of Roeskild, since the Swedes themselves depart from it, and it may be more important to France to establish peace in the North than to maintain war there in order to preserve the last conquests made by the Swedish Crown. The Swedish Ministers here now speak warmly only of —— and represent their people as fully resolved to risk everything in order to retain it; after a battle and so great a King had been lost, they are right to limit their ambition to that point. This, Sir, is all that the internal and external affairs of England give me occasion to write.

46.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, April 1, 1660.

My Lord,

I had postponed until to-day writing an answer to the letter which it pleased your Eminence to write to me on the 13th of last month, in the hope of sending you at the same time an account of the success which might have attended my efforts to execute the orders sent me by M. de Brienne: but, not having yet been able to obtain an interview with the General, or see that person who can give me most information about his views, I can only assure your Eminence of my entire devotedness to the service expected of me, and that I shall employ in it all the circumspection of which I am capable. I can also confirm all that my previous letters have stated regarding the present disposition of England to recall the King. The members of the Council openly profess that they have this intention, and although the General still keeps up the hopes of the Republicans, he has nevertheless declared that he will submit to the resolutions of the ensuing Parliament, and will do his best to keep the army in the same obedience and declare itself for the King, as it is not doubted for a moment that the nobility and people will elect deputies well-affectioned towards him. Words have also escaped from the General, in his family, which give reason to believe him altogether pledged to favour the King's return even if the Parliament opposed it, and his actions are in great conformity with such a design. If it is already formed, the good offices of another power will not be necessary, and the steps I am taking will only manifest his Majesty's inclinations, of which the Royalists appear to be fully persuaded since the journey of Lord Jermyn and Abbé Montague. If the General were still wavering between the recall of the King and acceptance of the sovereignty which has been offered him by the Republicans, he might be determined to one or the other course by the dispositions of France;

but his ambition must be limited to the highest fortune of a subject, since he allows the whole nation to be armed under the command of nobles and gentlemen known to be passionately attached to the Royal family. As for a Republican government, it is no longer mentioned, except in the addresses of the regiments of the whole army, which the Council intends to disband as soon as the militia is organized, at which all parties are diligently labouring. Some are desirous that at the same time the heads of the Government should propose the conditions upon which the King shall be received, and do not consider themselves safe if he is to dispose of the militia, money, commissions, appointments, and the choice of his Council. These limitations may nevertheless be proposed at first to appease those who apprehend the revolution, and it is deferred until the next Parliament meets. This body will be composed of young persons who, not having been engaged in the war, will not make use of all these precautions; preparations are also being made to regulate religion according to the example of the Protestant faith in France, both in doctrine and in ecclesiastical discipline; and, during the last few days the Ministers have felt great grief because the King of England has made some bishops. As the Presbyterians, who are now in power, formerly appeared more inclined towards France than to Spain, I had the idea that they might be persuaded to seek the King from their friends rather than from their enemies, and the overtures which were made to some of them on this point were favourably received; but many others judge it more advisable that he should retire into Holland or to Cologne, that they may treat with him more conveniently, and without exciting the jealousy of the two Crowns. This course will probably be pursued, and the reports which have been spread of his retirement into Flanders seem rather to have derived their foundation from this, than from any disposition to a peace between England and Spain. It is very true that the Parliament, a few days before the readmission of the ex-

cluded members had some thoughts of making an accommodation, and receiving money for Dunkirk and Jamaica: if its administration had continued a little longer, it would have depended upon Spain only to put an end to the war, which we may say has largely contributed to the great animosity of the people, and particularly of the City of London, against the last Parliament, on account of the injury which it has done to trade, and which has been attributed to the domestic divisions of the nations, since which this City has become more powerful than it ever was under the Kings. The present Government, in order to please it, has first professed to be desirous of peace, and it will easily be perceived that the King is under too great obligations to Spain to continue the war. Letters from Flanders even assure us that the Duke of York has accepted the command of the naval forces of Spain, with the title of Prince of the Sea, and the same prerogatives as were enjoyed by Don John of Austria, under Philip II. Nevertheless, during the last few days, the propositions of the Portuguese ambassador have been more favourably listened to, and there is a strong disposition not to enter into a league with this Prince, but to permit and assist him to levy all the infantry that he may need, even to lend him vessels for their transport, and to send others, at his cost, against the coast of Spain, to thwart its designs against Portugal, the separation of which is considered very necessary. This goodwill, which proceeds in part from a desire to remove the old troops from England, would not be compatible with a treaty of peace, and apparently the negotiation will be put off until the government is established. I will not fail to make every effort to learn what passes upon this subject, and give you an account of it. I have had occasion to speak at some length on behalf of the Swedes, at a conference with some commissioners of the Council who paid me a visit: after having declared to them that the King would be glad to see the government of England in the hands of those who at all times have shown themselves

to be well-intentioned towards France, I invited them to unite with us in securing the preservation of the Crown of Sweden and the advancement of the peace of the North, exaggerating its condition to them, and the steps which his Majesty had taken in order both to frustrate the Emperor's designs, and bring the United Provinces to an accommodation. In answer to my civilities, they declared that it was their wish to fall in with his Majesty's views, and to contribute by all means in their power to the maintenance of good feeling between the two States: but their language with regard to the interests of Sweden was not so decisive. I nevertheless remain persuaded that the Council is disposed to act in concert with France, and we agreed that, in that case, the English Ministers resident at the Hague and in Zealand shall press the King of Denmark and the States-General to accept the treaties which they themselves proposed before the death of the King of Sweden, and which the governors of the kingdom have since offered to sign, abandoning their pretensions to the bailiwick of Drontheim, which seem to form the chief difficulty. But if the good offices of France and England produce no effect, and if the King of Denmark resolves to take advantage of the present conjuncture to return into possession of the territory which he ceded by the Treaty of Roeskild, the said Ministers will declare their opposition to this step, and will accompany their protest by some menaces; and we shall then advise upon the means of forcing him to an accommodation, and this plan will be communicated beforehand to the Dutch ambassador resident here. I shall require to be still more particularly assured of the sentiments of the Council. These commissioners having affected to speak only on their own authority and without orders, I reminded them of the entreaties which have been made on the part of the United Provinces to induce England not to pay the new tax of a crown for every ton of freight; and they agreed that every State might act as it pleased in regard to itself, and that no resolution should be taken upon

this subject before they had communicated to me. These are the principal points which we discussed. I took care to let fall, when the conversation allowed it, some words which gave them to understand that the King wished that England might enjoy peace at home as well as abroad, and was not less disposed than in past times to contribute to both; but these expressions of goodwill were not taken up and produced nothing but general thanks, and it is to be presumed that those who are in a position to contribute to the King's restoration will think it more advantageous to treat directly with him than to accept the mediation of France. Nothing of importance has occurred during the last few days, except that the officers of the army have drawn up a declaration conformable to the first propositions; but the General has caused it to be suppressed, and they have not undertaken anything since. The City of London has not failed to offer a refuge both to the General and to the Council of State, to preserve them from the danger to which the discontent of the army seemed to expose them: they have not considered it right to accept this offer, and thus the evil has not been found so great as the citizens thought it was. For greater precaution, the Council had obtained parole from the principal reformed officers, and those who refused to take this pledge have been imprisoned. The Parliament had instructed the Council of State to take sureties from Lambert, but they have judged it more advisable to keep him in confinement than to grant him liberty. All the nobility have gone into the country to organize the militia and work at the elections.

47.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, April 5, 1660.

My Lord,

Nothing of importance has occurred, to my knowledge, since the 1st of this month; and all ideas seem now to run

on the establishment of the militia, and the election of the Parliament, which are drawing all persons into the country. One regiment, at some considerable distance from London, is said to have mutinied; but the others remain in obedience. This is not a revolt worthy of much consideration. The General has cashiered several Colonels, and given their commissions to gentlemen who are considered to be inclined towards royalty. He is also preparing to disband four regiments, and by these reforms to reduce the troops to that footing which they should be on, in order to give no opposition to the establishments which the new Parliament may wish to make. The General still declares that he will introduce no innovations until it begins its session. I visited him on the day before yesterday, and conveyed to him the message with which your Eminence entrusted me, without obtaining from him anything beyond general thanks, notwithstanding the care that I took to induce him to be more explicit with regard to the offer of friendship, and the desire of your Eminence that he should repose as much confidence in you as the deceased Protector had done: he gave no further explanations on the subject of the government of England, and reiterated that it would be established only by the new Parliament. We next spoke of the affairs of Sweden and Portugal; and I found him rather disposed to assist the former, if the King of Denmark refuses the accommodation which has been proposed to him. He confirmed to me what I had previously heard of the resolution adopted by the Council, to allow the ambassador of Portugal to levy all the infantry which his sovereign may require, and to lend him ships for their transport. This is all that I was able to derive from his visit, except excuses that he had not yet called upon me. His wife's brother has since visited me, and I gave him further explanations, assuring him that your Eminence would be very glad to make known to the General the esteem which you feel for him: I even offered him your mediation, when he told me that the General had not taken any measures with

the King of England, avowing nevertheless that if he becomes disposed to his return, he has taken upon himself to make the proposition spontaneously, and to see me again. But I cannot believe that they have waited until this time to make some private treaty. There are, at present, in London, persons accredited on the part of the King. If that which is reported is true, they insinuate that the Queen of England is excepted from the accommodation, together with all the English of her household. It is also to the interest of those who are in Flanders to believe that they are exchanging these good offices underhand, and the Presbyterians will easily be induced to humour them on this point. I have even heard lately that the Council, so as not to be obliged to grant the return of the Queen, will not seek the mediation of France. I will remove these scruples, if possible; and will continue my endeavours to induce this Government to do what his Majesty desires of it.

I have received no resolution from the Council with regard to the affairs of Sweden, which may be attributed to the information which a Hamburg ship has lately brought of the accommodation which has been concluded between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark. The ambassador of Holland had previously communicated to me a letter from Zealand which asserted that the King of Denmark had, after the protestation made by the English plenipotentiaries, given an answer which represented him as disposed to accept the treaty in conformity with the last offer of the Swedes, and referred to the mediators his claim for compensation for the losses he has suffered since the Swedes had refused the said treaty. The confirmation of this news will doubtless be awaited, before any determination is taken regarding the affairs of the North. As regards Portugal, the ambassador appears to me but little satisfied with the permission which the Council has granted him, as it is restricted to the present year, as well as the despatch of the fleet to the coast of Spain. He declares that this succour is not necessary this year, and that the demand made in

return for it is too great, and he demands that there shall be no limitation of time, which the Council will scarcely grant, as it foresees that the King of England will bring peace with Spain.

There is news from Ireland which represents the Assembly of that country to be quite united with the army, in a desire to remain, in some way, independent of England. Neither the Council nor the General are satisfied with this proceeding, which may materially hasten their determinations. It only remains for me to write that General Montague has set out for the fleet; Vice-Admiral Lawson, who is in command of it, does not appear very well satisfied at the downfall of the Sectaries; nevertheless, it is not expected that he will refuse to obey.

48.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, April 12, 1660.

My Lord,

I have not received any news for a long while, either from the General or his wife's brother; it has however been reported to me by another authority that the leaders of the Council have of late discussed the proposition which I made, of the mediation of France to reconcile the King of England and the Parliament; and that they are divided in opinion, some wishing to treat with him either in Flanders or some neutral town, such as Cologne or Breda, and others that he should proceed to France to receive their propositions. The first wish is in conformity with the desire of the Ministers of this Prince, who, by means of their friends, are straining every nerve to prevent us from having any part in the accommodation, and also to exclude from it the Queen of England, with all her household. To this end they make use of a number of suppositions, and amongst others, in order to excite the popular fury against France, they assert that the

King is willing to undertake to restore the monarch of England with an army; that Abbé Montague has gone to give him assurances of his purpose; that already even preparations are being made in France for its performance; and that a marriage is projected, in consideration for which his Majesty will spare no pains to make the enterprise succeed, in which case the people of England will be deprived of all their prerogatives, and the authority of the Parliaments will be destroyed; whereas, by treating directly with the King, he will grant all that may be judged necessary for the preservation of both. It is even insinuated that Spain would keep the King back, rather than allow France the glory of the treaty; and the same persons also make use of the pretext of religion against the Queen of England, representing that her return would entail liberty of conscience for the Catholics; but their principal fear is, that she will gain possession of the King's mind, and withdraw from State affairs. I see that some of the heads of the Government are not much affected by these considerations; and in order to confirm them in their present good disposition, I assure them that his Majesty would exact no condition opposed either to the laws of England, or to the safety of those who have been mixed up in the recent commotions; and that it would not be to his interest that they should be out of office, as he believes they are well-affectioned towards France. I have also given some to understand that their private interests might be attended to, and that your Eminence would feel obliged by the confidence reposed in him in this conjuncture. It cannot be predicted what will be the issue of these advances, so long as the General refuses to speak; and if, as I understand, his accommodation is already made with the King, he will conform to his intentions, which will apparently be opposed to the mediation of any foreign State. I discussed this matter at considerable length with Mr. Thurloe, who paid me a visit on the day before yesterday. He began by a declaration that he had come in his private capacity to

thank me for the politeness I have shown him since his return to office; nevertheless, after this compliment, he passed on to speak of public affairs, affecting to be ignorant of what had taken place of late between France and England. He informed me that the Government was very jealous of us; that all the advices from Flanders and France declared that the greater part of his Majesty's troops were destined to the service of the King of England, and that his marriage was decided upon; that Abbé Montague had gone to Flanders to fetch him from thence, and convey to him these resolutions, and that they were even confirmed by the agents of this Prince. He added that, although the people of England were disposed to receive him, neither the Council nor the army would admit him with foreign troops, or without conditions, so that the supreme power might still remain in their hands; that if he refused them, and attempted to come back by other means, they would all unite against his return, and would have no difficulty in preventing it, as the army and part of the nation are so much opposed to it. I assured the Secretary that there did not appear to me to be any foundation for all these reports, and that I had orders to declare that his Majesty desired to maintain perfect unanimity with the Government of England; that I had been sent hither with very precise instructions, and that nothing had occurred since to give reason to believe that he had changed his views: that if any individuals attempted to give contrary impressions, it was to prevent the Government from remembering the good offices which his Majesty formerly interposed to stop the course of divisions between the King and the people of England, and from having recourse to him on the present occasion; and I took occasion to say that, far from any hostile measures being contemplated in France, I had been ordered to give them to understand that, if his mediation could contribute to the welfare of the nation, he would gladly employ it, and would even receive with pleasure any request that might be made to him to in-

tervene, as a very obliging token of the confidence which the Government reposed in his friendship. I accompanied this overture with every argument that was adapted to render it agreeable, and to induce the Secretary to support it whenever occasion should offer; and he very solemnly protested to me that he would do all in his power to cause measures to be taken here, whether the King is recalled or the Republic established, which shall closely unite France and England, repeating that, in either case, those who were now in power would retain the chief authority; that the most zealous, who were in appearance for the King, will easily change their minds when they find themselves in power; and that he could not answer for the conduct of the next Parliament, as so numerous a body is subject to factions, and the least division might restore the courage of the army, which is as much opposed to the King as ever. Mr. Thurloe next passed from these general expressions to particulars, and asked me how a negotiation could be carried on through France during the removal of the Court, if the King of England would repair thither, and if Spain did not arrest him as soon as she suspected his intentions. I satisfied him on this point, by assuring him that, as soon as your Eminence was informed of the desire which existed here, you would take care to obtain a speedy resolution from the King of England, and would take measures against the hindrances which might arise on the part of Spain. The conclusion of all this conversation was a promise from the Secretary to think the matter over, and to see me again in a few days. I gathered from his expressions, and from the warmth with which he spoke to me, that the jealousies of the Council are great, and fomented by the agents of the King of England, in order, perhaps, to inspire alarm here, and thus to hasten his return upon more advantageous terms; but this is a very dangerous policy, it being presumable that the heads of the Government will rather adopt the views of the army than expose themselves to the animosity of the Royalists, whom they have

offended. In common with many others, I perceive less inconvenience in acquiescence with the conditions which will be required here, since, whatever they may be, if the Parliament is once dissolved and the army disbanded, the King will meet with no opposition to the re-establishment of the authority enjoyed by his predecessors, as the militia is in the hands of nobles and gentlemen, whose interest it is to diminish the power of the people. I learn also from my conversation with the Secretary, that the English who are with the King, are not on good terms with those of the Queen's retinue, and that the former, of their own accord or by order, are attempting to prevent her from having any part in the accommodation; in which they will probably succeed, notwithstanding the inclination of some who have of late written to Brussels, to complain in this respect of the conduct of Mr. Mordaunt, an emissary of Chancellor Hyde. The former maintain no more connection with me than the others, but all are trying to gain over the General, who does not explain his views, but refers them to the next Parliament; whence it is supposed that his private treaty is already made, there being otherwise no likelihood that he would leave all the glory to this Assembly, as well as the power which it might easily use to his prejudice and that of the Ministers of the present Government. I have no other part to take in all these intrigues, in order to perform the last orders which were forwarded to me, except to assure all of his Majesty's goodwill, to offer them my services both with the General and my acquaintances in the Council, and to propose an accommodation through the mediation of France, without excluding the Queen: to this work I have applied myself for several days, and I shall continue to do so until the conclusion of the business, which does not seem likely to occur before the meeting of Parliament. Secretary Thurloe told me, in the course of our conversation, that as the letters from the North have not brought certain intelligence of an accommodation between the Kings of Sweden and Den-

mark, the Council of State had resolved to send, by the secretary of the plenipotentiaries who are in Zealand, orders to them and to Mr. Downing to speak at the Hague and to the King of Denmark, in conformity with the proposition which I made at my last conference; and I was requested to inform MM. De Thou and De Terlon of this, that, on their side, they might continue to urge both States as before; which I undertook to do, assuring them that his Majesty would take in very good part the disposition which exists here to act in concert with him for the reconciliation of these two Princes. We also spoke of the affairs of Portugal, and of the permission which the Council was going to grant it to levy as many as twelve thousand infantry: and the Secretary having given me to understand that England would take charge of this Crown if the interests of the North did not divert her attention, I told him that France would discharge her from the latter duty upon that condition, and undertake, single-handed, the defence of the Swedes, but that there was no reason to hope that she would engage, before the return of the King of England, in such an important enterprise, especially as I know that the inclinations of this Prince would tend rather to favour Spain than her enemies. He again repeated to me that they would tie his hands so as to take from him the liberty of making peace and war, and that the overture which I had made might be adopted without the appearance or even the intervention of any treaty; which nevertheless is not very likely. I should rather think that foreign affairs will be postponed until the King is established, and no one can form a decisive judgment upon what will happen when the supreme authority is in other hands. The interests of Denmark will then receive greater consideration than those of the King of Sweden, and I have already informed his Ministers of this, as they were flattering themselves that they should be benefited by the revolution to which all things are tending. The deputies, who have been elected in various places, and among others in Lon-

don, are very favourable to it, and the commissioners for the establishment of the militia are giving the command of it to the most qualified among the nobility. The old troops clearly perceive that this tends to their destruction; nevertheless they do not dare to revolt, and a Colonel who appeared discontented was not in a position to disobey the orders of the General, who has cashiered him. Some plots for debauching the soldiers in London, have also been discovered; and it has been found that some were projecting the appointment of agitators, as in past times, to take care of their private interests. But this plan also has been frustrated by the imprisonment of its projector, and by the prohibitions of the Council. The Sectaries have, at the same time, been suspected of having contributed a large sum of money to bribe the soldiers, and some pains have been taken during the last few days to discover the depositories of this collection, which is, perhaps, a supposition in order to render them more odious, it being certain that their number is not sufficient to prevent the projected establishments, unless the whole of the old army should rise with them. Ireland is still in the same state, and the Council has despatched orders for the dissolution of the Assembly of Dublin, which still continues to meet. Scotland is very tranquil under the command of Major-General Morgan, who served formerly in Flanders.

49.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, April 19, 1660.

My Lord,

The advances which I have made both to the General and to Mr. Thurloe, not having prevented the Council of State from inclining to treat with the King of England in Holland, and by the mediation of the States-General rather than by that of his Majesty, I have, by other means, inspired the most influential members of the Council and some of the chief

nobles of the Presbyterian faction, with the desired sentiments. One of the former has just given me his word that they will invite the Prince to pass into France, and there receive the propositions of the Parliament, and that, in case any difficulty arises about the accommodation, the mediation of France will be solicited. They desire nevertheless that at the same time his Majesty should make the offer to the King of England, and assure him that he shall be received in any maritime town which may appear to him most convenient. I have promised both, as soon as the present state of feeling becomes known in France, that his Majesty will take in good part all the confidence reposed in him by the principal Ministers of the English Government, that he will promote a reconciliation by all means in his power, and that your Eminence will take particular care of their interests. I must not conceal from you that, in the various conferences which I have had with several of them, they have questioned me repeatedly about the marriage of the King of England, and state that the nation felt great apprehensions respecting that alliance which public report says has been negotiated by Abbé Montague; being persuaded that, besides the injury which the Protestant religion would receive from such a union, the counsels of your Eminence might tend to raise too high the power of the English monarch. I was not sufficiently well informed to speak positively of the fact, but I gave them clearly to understand that, even if the report were well founded, neither the religion nor the prerogatives of the people would, in consequence, be in a worse condition than if under another Queen; for the rest, they would find it more advantageous to favour than to oppose it, since your Eminence would in that case have more power to secure to them all the public and private conventions which might be stipulated in an accommodation. One who came to see me this afternoon, did not fail to refer to this subject in order to inform me that the publication of this marriage should be postponed, until

the King of England has made an agreement with the Parliament, and to assure me that in the conditions which will be presented to him, no mention will be made of it, so that he may retain entire liberty to follow his inclinations in the matter. I continued to declare that I had very little information on the subject, and did not fail to assure him, on the other hand, that your Eminence would feel greatly obliged by the goodwill which they manifest towards you by their resolutions, and by their wish to remove all obstacles calculated to overthrow an establishment in which you would be so much interested. I have also been visited, this afternoon, by an English Earl, who came to inform me that a resolution had been adopted by some of his order, to despatch a gentleman this evening to the Queen, to inform her that they wish that the King of England would pass into France, to concert measures with her for drawing him thither, and to take a course which will be determined by the news which this envoy brings back; she will also contribute to induce them to place entire confidence in me, which was necessary in order to enable me to perform the service required of me. I have informed M. de Brienne of this, that he may announce to the Queen of England that I am acting by order, and that she may not make this negotiation take another course; from which it will be perceived that, if no change takes place in the present state of feeling, the King of England will be obliged to repair to France, notwithstanding the repugnance which his Ministers feel to such a proceeding, and the mediation of his Majesty will be solicited, if any difficulty is thrown in the way of the treaty: which I think will probably occur, as the rulers of the kingdom and all the Presbyterians declare that they will not receive him without rather rigorous conditions, which the Royalists affirm that he will never accept. I have communicated to the former, that we should not be opposed to any condition which had reference to their safety, in order to remove the scruples which many entertained about trusting to France,

through fear that your Eminence would free the royal authority from all restraint; and I may say that, in making this declaration, I have spoken in accordance with the opinions of the wisest Royalists, who think that the restoration of the monarchy is not to be expected without some limitation. If any advances are found to be in accordance with his Majesty's intentions, I shall continue to act and speak in the same manner, and it will be necessary to perform what I have led them to hope in reference to the offer of mediation, and the reception of the King of England in some maritime town of Picardy. As the approach of the Parliament gives reason to believe that the affairs of England will be brought to some issue before his Majesty's return from the frontier, and the absence of your Eminence will not enable me to receive your orders in regard to any accidents that might arise, you will be pleased also to let me know in advance what you think should be done for the King's service in this conjuncture, and whether the correspondence which I maintain with some of the leaders of the Government, might be made to contribute to the advancement of his designs. When I am better informed, I shall be better able to act. Nothing of any importance has occurred abroad during the last few days. General Monk continues to reform the army, and remove from it the old officers and soldiers to fill up their places by men of more obedient minds. He has presented an engagement, on his own part, during the last few days, to those who remain in office, by which they bind themselves to conform to whatever the next Parliament may judge advisable for the welfare of the nation. The houses of some noted Sectaries have been searched, and some arms found; and, under the pretext of some apprehension of their ill-will, Colonel Lambert has been imprisoned in the Tower of London. The elections are continued daily without paying much attention to the qualifications appointed by the late Parliament, and in some localities Royalists have been elected. Colonel Massey, one of the most

zealous of this party, and who formerly did not dare to appear in England, has not scrupled to offer himself for election, and having found the people of Gloucester well-disposed towards him, some disorder arose between them and the soldiers, to appease which the Council sent for the Colonel; but after having heard him, he was set at liberty, and no one is refused permission either to enter or leave England. The Secretary of the Plenipotentiaries who are in Denmark, was sent off last week with the orders which I requested might be given him. The Ministers of Sweden assured me that the States-General had disapproved of the cessation of hostilities, agreed upon by their Ministers in Zealand and the other mediators, because the King of Denmark had refused to accept the treaty which was offered to him; but I do not see this news in the letters of M. de Thou, and the Dutch ambassador declares that his superiors desire nothing so ardently as peace in those quarters. He even came himself to read to me the answer of the States-General to his Majesty, accompanying it by many fine protestations, but without mentioning the speech of M. de Thou. There still appears to exist a favourable disposition towards Portugal, and the ambassador expects to-morrow to obtain a favourable resolution upon his propositions requesting permission to levy twelve thousand men for the service of his Prince, without any limitation of time. The idea has occurred to obtain from him some advantages in return for this concession, such as liberty of conscience for the English residents in Portugal; but he has no power to grant anything, and his predecessor in the embassy was disavowed for having given himself a little too much liberty in this respect. You will have learnt from other sources that the suspension of hostilities between Dunkirk and Flanders is prorogued for six weeks. There is no news from Scotland; Ireland still remains in the same state, and the Assembly at Dublin has not dissolved, or given any heed to the orders sent from here: deputies are expected to arrive from that country in a few

days, and it is generally believed that they have sent to the King of England, with propositions. The same report has lately been spread with regard to the General.

50.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, April 22, 1660.

My Lord,

I have been again assured, during the last few days, that the majority of the Council hold the same views as I stated in my preceding letter, and that the King of England will be invited to repair to France, in order to treat with the Parliament through the mediation of his Majesty, if any difficulty arises respecting the accommodation. I observe also a great change of opinion with regard to the Queen, and those who appeared most opposed to her return are now most favourable to it, having adopted this view together with the resolution to invite the King into France. Chancellor Hyde's agents continue to oppose it, and have already induced him to go to Breda, in order that, finding himself removed thither, the negotiation may be opened there, and being continued there, that Minister may have a greater share in it than if the treaty were made in France. As he proposes munificent rewards to everybody, and is considered to have great influence over his master, those who regard only their own private advantage will probably defer to this desire, without caring very much which course would be most honourable or most useful to the nation. It is moreover greatly to be feared that private accommodations, or the general inclination which now exists to recall the King without conditions, will frustrate the measures which the leaders of the Council are taking, and that the approaching Parliament will disregard all the considerations which they may urge in order to restrain the youthful ardour of the members of that assembly. The General alone is ca-

pable of preventing these results, and he professes that he will not lay down his arms, until both public and private interests have been placed in entire safety. Nevertheless, complete belief is not given to his words, and he begins to be more reserved than before towards those Ministers of the Council whom he once treated with the greatest confidence: which has led them to suspect the existence of some private treaty, especially since the journey which one of his relatives has made to Brussels. Some are even persuaded that he will recall the King before the Parliament meets, in order to obtain for himself all the merit of the action, and the Council repents that it did not take this course; but it is now too late, as the session of the Parliament is so near at hand, and the Ministers of State hold too conflicting opinions to come to an agreement in so short a time. Some are desirous to follow exactly the treaty of the Isle of Wight, others wish to append additional restrictions thereto, and some are willing to content themselves with the safeguard of the ancient laws of the realm: this last opinion is held in common with the people. This diversity of opinions will not prevent some resolution from being taken, perhaps even before I can receive orders and instructions, with regard to the course which I shall have to pursue in the event of the King's return into England. His return may perhaps be hastened also by the jealousy excited by Lambert's escape from the Tower of London. It is believed that he must have some plans in connection with the Sectaries, and some of them have hinted to several discontented officers that in a few days they might be able to give them employment. A proclamation was issued yesterday to order the prisoner to surrender within twenty-four hours, and £100 sterling were offered to any one who should apprehend him. The danger does not however seem to be very great now that the old troops have been reduced, by the change of officers, to such a condition that they have presented to the General a declaration assuring him of their submission to all

that he, the Council, or the Parliament may think it advisable to do for the establishment of the civil Government. Such obedience does not exist in the army in Ireland. The Assembly at Dublin still continues to meet, and has ordered the arrest of a number of the Catholic nobility, under the pretext of some insurrection. It is confidently affirmed, that their deputies have offered to receive the King of England, upon certain conditions, the principal of which has reference to the disposal of the confiscated lands, which he has refused to confirm, as it would be to ruin those who have followed him; but the army will also have some difficulty in resolving to leave go its hold. Scotland has of late talked of following the example of Ireland, and it has been discovered that a quantity of arms had been conveyed thither; one of the principal men of that country has however assured me that no movement will take place until they see what England will do; and she will be obliged to go faster than the Council, and the Presbyterians wished, in order not to be anticipated. The Presbyterians are beginning to be apprehensive of the bishops, whose entire abolition they are determined to demand, and some ministers, during the last few days, have preached against the impiety of the Royalists, as well as against the extravagance of the Sectaries, not anticipating less danger from one party than from the other; and some have been so unrestrained in their discourse that the General was yesterday, at his own table, compelled to maltreat a gentleman, formerly a Colonel in the troops of the King of England, and afterwards to send him to prison, for having publicly made use of threats against those who have taken any part in the revolutions, without considering that they are the same persons who are now at the head of affairs. The people, in several counties, have appeared incensed against them, and have refused to vote for them. These are, my Lord, the present inclinations and actions of this country, my narration of which I will not fail to continue by every post. There is

nothing from abroad, except the confirmation of what the Dutch ambassador told me regarding the peace with Denmark, which is advancing even more rapidly than it did in Poland.

51.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, April 26, 1660.

My Lord,

I cannot yet inform you of any progress in the affairs of this country, as nothing has occurred during the last few days; profession is still made to me of a great disposition to negotiate in France, and at the present moment the principal members of the Council are assembled with the nobles who have taken part against the King, in order to settle the conditions, the manner, and the place of accommodation, so that the matter may be thoroughly digested when the Parliament meets. It is also to be decided what noblemen shall take their seats in the Upper House, and although their decrees are not to be considered as laws, we may judge from this step what course the negotiation will probably take. Chancellor Hyde's agents neglect no means of preventing France from having a share in it, and they accompany private offers by a declaration that the King will accede to whatever may be desired of him; this course appears more likely to be taken by the Ministers than that of contesting anything, and thus giving a plea for demanding his withdrawal from affairs, as some desire, and among others those who are favourable to the Queen. It has also been reported to me that offers of money are being made through the States-General, and that the Princess-Dowager proposes the marriage of her daughter to the King of England, and the pretext of religion would make such a marriage very agreeable here; nevertheless those of the Council whom I know, are anxious to thwart the scheme, and with this view to withdraw the King from Holland, if possible. I left them

again this morning, in the full intention of sending an accredited envoy to Breda; which would have been done before now, but for fear of giving umbrage to the General, whom they hope to gain over to their views. One of his relations has however conveyed propositions to the King on his behalf, and if they are well received, the others will have some difficulty to succeed in their plans, as the decision of affairs lies in his hands. The time for decision is not far off, and, according to some statements, it will be announced before I shall be able to receive letters of credence to the King of England. This is not an unfounded opinion, since, on one hand, those here are anxious to lose no time, and the interests of the King's Ministers urge them to avoid all delays and interventions. There also appears to be a disposition to an insurrection among the Sectaries, and since the escape of Lambert some of the old Colonels are no longer to be found in their houses. The General's company of guards has been sent out of London to repress any tumult that may arise, and some of the most distinguished Sectaries have already been arrested. Strict watch is also maintained every night in the City of London, and the General has changed the garrison of the Tower, under the pretext that some of the officers had favoured the escape of Lambert, to whom it was said that liberty would be granted upon his parole, but that his wife has declined the offer: he is not however in a position to do any mischief unless all the army revolts, and this is not at all to be feared now that all the suspected officers have been cashiered. To retain the soldiers in their obedience, they have been promised payment of their arrears, and, as they are so scattered, they would have great difficulty in uniting with one another before they were defeated by the militia of the country.

52.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, May 3, 1660.

My Lord,

I had nothing to write by the preceding post, as the affairs of England were then in the same state as my last letter had informed you. Since then, great alarm has been felt about an insurrection of Sectaries in different localities; some had assembled in the neighbourhood of York, with the intention of taking it by surprise; and, at the distance of twenty leagues from London, Colonel Lambert had gathered together a body of cavalry which the first accounts stated to consist of three hundred men. Orders were immediately given to send against him most of the troops which are in London; the levy of the London militia was directed to hold itself in readiness, and that of several counties, which has not been set on foot to be placed within the hands of persons considered to be too violent Royalists, was also ordered out. At the same time some of the most distinguished Sectaries both in this city and in the country were arrested, and the General was making preparations to go and attack Lambert before he could increase his forces: but news arrived at the end of last week, that he had only two or three hundred men, and this morning we were informed of his defeat by a party of six hundred horse without much bloodshed; his troops having abandoned him one after another, he was taken prisoner with a few others who have been officers in the army, and they are on their way to London. The militia were immediately countermanded, and the universal topic of conversation now is the punishment of the offenders, whose leader was proclaimed a traitor on the day before yesterday. His capture seems entirely to ruin all his party, against which the people entertain so great an aversion that unless the old troops had mutinied, it could not have met with better fortune. Some Royalists could have wished it to hold out a little longer, in the hope that the present authorities would have been thereby compelled to hasten the

return of the King upon more advantageous conditions; whereas they will now have entire liberty to act, and will perhaps impose harsher conditions, as they have nothing to fear from the Sectaries. There has been a great contest of late between those noblemen who have been engaged in the war since the year 1648, and the others, because the former are desirous alone to constitute the Upper House; the General supports their design, and even presents his name to authorize it, professing that he would not be able to restrain the army if those who have not been on the side of the Parliament were admitted, as most of them would advocate the recall of the King without any other limitation to his authority than that of the ancient laws. The question was discussed at Whitehall, on the day before yesterday, between the General and some of the noblemen who are to take their seats, and to-day, the others having gone to press him, they rather irritated than persuaded him; it is even proposed now to exclude from the House of Commons a hundred or six score members who are found not to possess the qualifications fixed by the last act of the Parliament, through fear that, if they are allowed to enter, they will be too violent for the King, and that some question will arise in the Assembly as to how the Upper House shall be constituted; which might very probably happen even if the exclusion took place, as there would remain enough other members equally opposed to all the projected limitations, of which those that are most difficult to digest have reference to the *veto* upon the Parliaments, and the disposal of offices and places in the Council. It appears to me nevertheless that they will only be brought forward in order to obtain from the King some particular advantages in favour of the heads of the Government and of the fifteen noblemen who compose the Upper House. There are none who do not neglect the public advantage in order to attend to their own private interests; but both good and evil are in the hands of the General, and all appearances indicate that he has resolved to please the King; at least it is certain that his family has particular

connection with the minister Morley, who has been sent here by Chancellor Hyde, to make terms with all parties, even the Quakers, in which he seems to be succeeding. But as he is not equally gracious to all, jealousies are beginning to be felt, which may be prejudicial to the affairs of the King, who I learn has not been again much pressed to proceed into France, according to the assurance which had been given me on the subject by some members of the Council. This resolution meets with considerable opposition, and, not being supported by any offer, cannot but be subjected to change. Some attempts to debauch the soldiers in Ireland have been made on the part of several cashiered officers, but the authors of them were immediately discovered and arrested; the same was attempted with the garrison of Hull with the same success. As for the troops in Scotland, they have sent a Declaration, similar to that which the officers here presented to the General some days since, and which the soldiers were afterwards required to sign in order to make more sure of them in the recent conjuncture. All these movements have not prevented the Council of State from signing, three days ago, the treaty which its commissioners had agreed upon with the Portuguese ambassador. It gives his Prince permission to raise as many as 12,000 infantry and 2500 cavalry, without limitation as to time; he may also hire vessels for his service, according to the necessity of his affairs, even against the King of Spain; and the ambassador took his leave this morning in order to go and persuade his Court to avail themselves of this permission. But it may be presumed that if the King of England returns, obstacles will be thrown in his way; and the people are so persuaded that the trade with Spain is of such importance that, with whatever limitations they may hamper the power of the King, he will be left at liberty to make peace with that Crown. The affairs of the North leave me nothing to add.

53.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, May 6, 1660.

My Lord,

The letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 16th of last month, gives me only instructions to inform you of what has come to my knowledge regarding the affairs of this country. The Parliament began to assemble yesterday; the Commons, after listening to an exhortation, went into their usual room, chose their Speaker and other officers, and then, upon an overture made by the General, appointed a committee to examine into the elections. At the same time the Lords of the year 1648 went also to take their seats and choose their officers; some of the young ones presented themselves at the door in order to enter, affecting to be ignorant of the request which the General had made to two of them, who had visited him on the previous evening, not to take their seats for a few days, assuring them that no injury should accrue to them from this delay; but they allowed themselves to be persuaded to yield to this desire, and retired. Nothing of importance has passed as yet this morning in either House, except that the Commons have recognized the Lords by sending an answer to a proposition for a fast-day made by the latter yesterday. This proceeding is much discussed, and was opposed only by one of the deputies who sat in the preceding Parliament. It is also of some consequence that the General now consents to the admission of all the young Peers, who will take their seats to-morrow, and that he has ceased to talk of excluding from the House of Commons those deputies who were elected in disregard of the qualifications. It is inferred from this, with much reason, that the return of the King will take place more speedily, and on less harsh conditions, and this matter will doubtless be soon brought into consideration. There are still two parties,—one, composed of those who favour Hyde, is anxious that the

proposition shall be sent to Breda; the other, devoted to the interests of the Queen of England, desires that the King shall be invited to carry on the negotiation in some town in France; and the latter desire that I should continue to support their plans, and this course seems to me to accord with the wish felt by his Majesty to contribute to the restoration of the King of England, which can never take place if he is not in France, and if the Parliament remains firm in its present determination to allow no innovations upon the ancient laws of the country. The Presbyterians are ill satisfied about it; but if the General does not keep his word to them, as there is reason to believe he will not, the inclination of the people will be followed, and before the month has elapsed, the King will be in England. Your Eminence knows what it is necessary to prescribe to me, and what course of conduct I shall have to pursue, and whether I am to remain in England until the revolution is completed, which I cannot do without new letters of credence. The House of Commons has also this morning appointed some committees, read an act against vagabonds, and voted thanks both to the General and to the Colonel who took General Lambert prisoner without bloodshed; this was not because the latter had only three or four hundred cavalry, but having approached the troops of the State in the hope that they would join him, his own men changed sides, and he was not sufficiently well mounted to escape being taken. Only seventeen jacobuses were found upon him. Two of the principal officers of the army shared his fate, and they were all brought to London on the day before yesterday. The Council heard them in their defence immediately; they acknowledged they had taken arms under the pretext of opposing the Royalists, and that if those who had pledged themselves to assist them had performed their promises, a considerable army would have been on foot in a few days. They were sent to the Tower, and a proclamation has been issued against some other officers, commanding them

to surrender on pain of being declared traitors. Several citizens of London are also suspected of being concerned in this conspiracy, and it is intended to extort large sums from the accomplices, although these appear as yet to be only disaffected officers. The London militia met on the day before yesterday; the General was not present, having been requested by the Council not to expose himself. Some regiments shouted *God save the King!* and the tendency of all the people is not now more favourable to him than it was adverse to the deceased King at the beginning of the war.

54.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, May 10, 1660.

My Lord,

The approbation with which your Eminence, in your letter of the 28th of last month, honours my conversation with Mr. Thurloe, leaves me nothing more to desire than that all my offers may produce their due effect. I thought this was almost certain a few days before the meeting of Parliament, and the principal members of the Council then thought they would be able to gain the General over to their views, whatever efforts were made to induce him not to take any measures with France; but affairs have, it seems, changed their aspect, and there now appears so strong a desire to recall the King without conditions, that the offer of a place of meeting and of mediators is altogether superfluous; it would not be without some difficulty, even if obstacles arose to an accommodation, that France would be preferred to Breda, although everybody is of opinion that there is no reason to place the one in the scale against the other, since the Chancellor's emissaries declare that the King of England does not wish to treat anywhere else than in Holland or in London, by means of commissioners to whom he will give full powers. It was of this Minister, and of the Mar-

quis of Ormonde, that I intended to speak when I wrote that the English who were about the person of the Prince were attempting to prevent him from passing into France; their aversion to France has been sufficiently displayed in the reports which they have spread, and in their conduct with regard to me, for I have received no civility from them, although I have communicated to them my orders in respect to their master; they have also declared themselves very strongly against the Queen. Nevertheless, if those who desire to see her in authority had been more active, they might have frustrated all the measures of these two ministers, who are generally disliked here, and prevented the journey of the King to Breda, whither they are of opinion that the Queen will proceed, if the negotiations are of long continuance. There is no reason to believe this, and the Presbyterians are losing all hope of obtaining conditions now that they find themselves abandoned by the General, upon whom all their expectations were built. After having promised them not to allow any other Lords to enter into the Upper House but those who have been engaged in the war against the King, he has contented himself with excluding the young peers for two days, and has declared to them that this was done only to satisfy the others; and those even who have borne arms against the Parliament will take their seats. He has consented to the admission of all the members of the House of Commons without regard to qualifications; which leads the army to murmur, and weakens the credit of the Presbyterian party, the leaders of which accuse the General of having duped them. He is not also without cause of complaint against some of them, having discovered that they were making preparations for dividing among themselves all the offices under the Crown, and that in order to effect this arrangement more conveniently, the old Lords were desirous alone to compose the Upper House, under the pretext that the others were too great Royalists. Their prudence has been frustrated, and the votes of the young members will prevail in

both Houses, which have not met since the 11th of the month. The Upper House determined, at its last session, to confer with the Commons upon the form of the government, and in order to prepare for so important a deliberation, to-day has been spent in prayers; to-morrow therefore those letters will be read which the King has written to the General, to the Council, and to the officers of the army, dated on the 4th of this month; they were presented by a gentleman who is a near relative of the General, and who it is said was sent into Flanders by him. He refused to open them except in the Parliament; nevertheless, no one doubts but that he is acquainted with their contents, and neither he nor his wife scruple openly to declare their inclination for the restoration of the King. The only difficulty has reference to the conditions; to-morrow we shall hear whether the accommodation is capable of longer delay. As the revolution may occur in a few days, I cannot but await orders with some impatience; it would even have been advisable to send me letters of credence to the Parliament, in order that, if the service of his Majesty or of the King of England requires it, I might be in a position to request an audience. I cannot otherwise act in public, as the House of Lords does not acknowledge my letters to the previous Parliament. If it is judged advisable to send me new credentials, let them be with the quality of ambassador extraordinary, as there is no longer any necessity for me to make a protracted stay here, and moreover it will evince greater esteem towards the new government. The General has been confirmed by the Upper House in his office for so long as may be considered necessary, and he continues to change the old officers of the army. My Lord Faulconbridge has obtained a regiment of cavalry from him. A number of officers of Lambert's party have been taken of late, and he has made another attempt to escape from the Tower this afternoon. A report is current that the troops in Ireland have been fighting with each other, because one party desired to recall the King with con-

ditions, and the other without any, and that the latter had the advantage: the troops in London have appeared rather restless of late, and spoke of presenting some request for the confirmation of the confiscated lands, some titular proprietors of which have already taken possession without a legal order. This will be one of the principal questions of the accommodation.

55.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, May 11, 1660.

My Lord,

The news which I wrote yesterday will have prepared your Eminence to receive that which I have to communicate to-day, which I think it worth while to forward by an express. As soon as the Parliament had met, the President of the Council laid before it the letter which the King had written to the General, but which neither he nor the Council had been willing to open; one of the members at the same time informed the House that a gentleman was at the door on behalf of the King. He was brought in forthwith, and presented another letter, with a declaration, which, in substance, after an enumeration of the evils which have afflicted England for so many years, invites the people to put an end to them by submitting to their old form of government, offers an amnesty for the past with no other exceptions than those whom the Parliament shall judge right to exclude from it, refers to it the arrangement of the confiscated lands, appoints a national council to settle differences of religion, and promises complete satisfaction to the soldiers. The perusal of these letters was followed by several harangues in praise of the King, and the general applause of the whole assembly, which immediately resolved to send deputies to thank him, and voted him £50,000 sterling. The same gentleman had presented to the House of Lords a letter containing the same declaration, and they had adopted a similar

resolution of sending deputies to express their gratitude to the King, whom the Speaker called "our sovereign lord." A conference was then held between the commissioners of the two Houses, during which it was determined that England should be governed as in former times, and that means should be taken for obtaining the King's return as quickly as possible. This result was approved of by both Houses, and they are now employed in drawing up an answer to his letter, which is to be presented to him by two Lords and four members of the House of Commons. The General has requested permission to reply privately to his own letter, which has been granted him; and the Town Council has also received one this afternoon, which gave it great satisfaction. Their joy is now manifested by the great number of bonfires which have been lighted, and the other tokens of delight of which an enthusiastic populace are capable. There is no room for doubt but that by the end of this month, or the beginning of next, the business will be entirely settled, and the King in England. Not but that some are anxiously desirous to take precautions for the future; but the excitement is too great, and no one would be willing to draw down upon himself the resentment of the public by propositions which cannot but be rejected, as the General is undoubtedly acting in concert with the King, and the declaration has been agreed on between them. The bearer of the letters is a relation of his, and the same who it is thought was sent into Flanders by him. I have to-day seen some Presbyterians who were greatly cast down by this change without conditions, and they are under apprehensions that the General has stipulated to reserve a portion of the army under the pretext of keeping the Sectaries in order, but in reality to maintain the Royal authority against the prerogatives of the people. We shall shortly be able to judge with greater certainty, and at present it only appears to me that no preparations are being made yet for disbanding the troops; that the King's declaration will be reduced to the form of an Act of Parliament with-

out addition or abridgment; that no further proposition will be made for the exclusion of the Chancellor; that the government will henceforth be administered according to the ancient laws; that the deputies of both Houses will set out in two or three days to convey the first submission of the Parliament; and that they will speedily be followed by another more solemn deputation to accompany the King; whose return will take place, according to all appearances, at the beginning of next month. It would be desirable for me to be informed before that period of the course of conduct which I am to pursue in this very extraordinary conjuncture; and this is the reason why I send the present courier to the frontier, unless M. de Brienne judges it more advisable to detain him at Paris. The post of the day after to-morrow will inform you of the consequences of to-day's resolutions. Meanwhile I have only again to entreat your Eminence that if I am ordered to present the first compliments to the King of England, it may be in some higher quality than I have sustained towards the preceding governments, and that, as this will oblige me to incur new expenses, I may receive the necessary funds from the King. I shall expect both these favours from the kindness with which you are pleased to honour me.

56.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, May 13, 1660.

My Lord,

Since my letter of the day before yesterday, the army has followed the example of the Parliament and City; and when the General communicated the King's letter to the officers, they assured him of their obedience by a declaration. Some however had a little while before attempted to induce the General's wife to prefer the advantages of sovereign authority

to all those which the King of England will bestow upon her family; but she rejected this proposition, and her inclinations have undoubtedly contributed largely to the revolution in the government. Some soldiers were found among the troops who preferred to leave the army rather than submit; but their number is very inconsiderable, and the offer which the King has made, in his Declaration and letters to the General, to retain the services of the army, will probably appease their discontent. The Parliament, in pursuance of its resolutions of the day before yesterday, has appointed a committee to draw up the Acts which are to be passed by the King before his return, and to choose the deputies who are to convey to him the answers both of the Upper House and of the Commons. The anxiety manifested to belong to this deputation has caused the Lords to name six of their body, with the Earl of Oxford at their head, and the Commons will send twelve. The General will also send his answers by his brother-in-law, and the City by some citizens. This large deputation will not leave until the beginning of next week. It has also been resolved by the Upper House that all the Lords shall be invited to take their seats, without excepting either those who have been in arms for the King, or the Catholics; and a proposition was also made to proclaim the King, but it was not adopted, any more than one to request the King not to leave Breda. Besides the present of £50,000 sterling which the Parliament has sent him, and £6000 sterling which have also been voted for the repairs of Whitehall, the City of London has made him a present of £10,000 sterling, and some private citizens are going to send him £16,000 sterling. Although all vie with each other as to who shall manifest most zeal, there nevertheless exists some fear lest his power will remain too absolute, and will be maintained by an army, which he talks of keeping up. This distrust will probably give rise to some debate upon the proposed Acts. No further propositions have been made for withdrawing the King from Breda, as

there is no appearance of any negotiation, for the voice of the people demands the return of the King, with no other limitation than that of the ancient laws; and in order to banish the idea which was entertained of drawing him into France, those who are acting for the King have published that the Ministers of the King of Spain are very much displeased with him, because he refuses to return thither, on the invitation of the Marquis of Carracena. The bad offices which some have been anxious to render the Queen have produced no effect, and there is a strong disposition to grant her all that she can desire from England. I have been requested to convey to her a letter from the General's wife in answer to that which she had received from her; her return into England will, it is thought, balance the power of the Chancellor, and all the parties appear to be already formed; this will be something to occupy attention after the return of the Court. Such, my Lord, is all that present affairs give me occasion to write to-day. . . .

57.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, May 17, 1660.

My Lord,

I have to-day merely to inform you of the progress of the general acquiescence which all England has given to the re-establishment of royalty. General Montague, having received a letter from the King containing the Declaration which was read in the Parliament, communicated it to the principal commanders of the fleet, and it was forthwith made known in all the vessels with all the marks of joy which the officers and sailors were able to express. Ireland has displayed similar conduct, and has even gone so far as solemnly to proclaim the King, which seems to have given rise to the resolution adopted by the Parliament to-day to perform the same ceremony in London to-morrow, with all the solemnities customary upon

such an occasion. It has also been determined this afternoon, in the House of Lords, to invite the King to come to England as quickly as possible. This determination will be communicated to the House of Commons to-morrow, and if it concurs in it, as there is reason to believe it will, although some are not greatly disposed to urge his return, the King will soon be in England, as orders have already been sent to the fleet to hold itself in readiness to take him on board, and news has arrived that he has proceeded to Middleburg. The other debates in the House of Lords during the last few days are of less importance; they had resolved to invite all their members to come and take their seats; and since, under the pretext that this might give occasion for some discontent, they have excepted the Catholic peers from this invitation, without however refusing them admission. They have also, upon a complaint made by the Sectaries, of some violence done them by the populace, directed the Mayor of London to prevent such disorders; granted to the Duke of Buckingham and three other individuals an Act to deprive the possessors of their property; of liberty to dispose of it, or even to make use of the income derived from it; and the answers made by the two Houses to the King's letters have been read. They are worded with all the respect which could be expected from good subjects, and the death of the deceased King is disavowed therein, and even termed a horrible murder. The Commons have, on their side, laboured daily to complete the Acts which are to be presented to the King by their deputies. These have reference to the General Amnesty, from which all those will be excepted who acted as judges of the late King, most of whom have already retired from England; the second states that all confiscated property shall remain in the same state as it is now, until new orders are issued; the third sanctions the present Parliament, although it was not, according to custom, summoned by the King, but this is not to be taken as a precedent in future. There is a fourth which relates to

religion, and refers its differences to a national synod. The Commons have also consented to the restitution of the property of the Duke of Buckingham and the others; but a similar order having been proposed in favour of another lord, the General put difficulties in the way of granting it, pretending that such a step would be likely to displease the army; which terminated the affair, and even postponed until to-morrow the debate upon the Duke's case, most of whose property is in the hands of the Protector's heirs. There are a great many deputies who are of opinion that the presentation of these Acts should be deferred until the King's return; but those who are called '*Old Presbyterians*' desire to have this security before receiving him; and it is even said that some of them have reproached the General because he has taken no precautions for the liberty of the people. Upon to-morrow's debate will depend the speedy return of the King, which, at latest, cannot be deferred beyond the commencement of next month. The deputies of the two Houses will set out in two or three days: the City will send their representatives with them, and will charge them with a present of £2000 sterling for the Dukes of York and Gloucester. The General has already despatched his brother-in-law with his answer and the Declaration of the army. It is said that some movement has been executed in Scotland by the Sectaries and Presbyterians who were engaged against the King during the late wars, and that even Major-General Morgan, who is in command of the troops, supports them; but this is not probable, and the number of these malecontents would not moreover be sufficient to prevent the arrangements which are being made. Many other equally ill-founded reports are current; among others that the King of England is very much displeased with France, that we have a design for supporting an insurrection of Lambert's party, and that I have pressed the General to constitute himself Protector. The General's brother-in-law has undertaken to give testimony as to what has passed on

the latter point, and it will be shown that I have urged him to use language very far removed from such a proposition. The source of all these impressions which it is attempted to give, proceeds from the animosity felt against the Queen and France by some of those who enjoy the King's confidence. It is also pretty openly declared that Sweden has of late greatly disobliged England; but I cannot believe that the Court which is about to return will entertain so much bitter feeling, and moreover it will not be in a position to take offence at the past, especially against powerful States. Mr. Lockhart has gone to Breda to make his peace, and the news has been confirmed of late that the Ministers of the King of Spain have attempted to entice the English monarch into Flanders, in order to oblige him to restore Dunkirk.

58.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, May 21, 1660.

My Lord,

The narration of what has taken place since my last letter will inform your Eminence that the King of England was proclaimed on the day before yesterday, first at Westminster, and then in front of Whitehall and in the City of London, with all the solemnities customary upon such occasions, which however are not worth relating. Nothing extraordinary occurred except the demonstrations of joy given by the people. On the same day, bonfires were again lighted in front of all the houses, the Tower guns were fired, and all persons of respectability distributed wine among the people. I thought it right to conform to this example, and advised all the other foreign ministers who consulted me to do the same. It is also to be remarked that the proclamation was made in terms which, it is said, are not generally used, in that they declared that a proclamation is unnecessary, and that the King's right to the

crown is indubitably acquired to him by his birth. The arms of the republic, which were in the House of Parliament, were, after having been exposed some time, burned by one of the members of that body who had taken a leading part in the first movements of England. And, in short, every one is attempting to display peculiar zeal, without considering whether the prerogatives of the people, of which they were formerly so jealous, are injured by it or not. The members of Parliament, who act with less vehemence, wished to postpone this proclamation; but they did not see any chance of succeeding, and confined their efforts to a proposition, that after having done everything that had reference to the interest of the King, the popular acts should be taken into consideration: and during their last sessions strenuous efforts have been made to complete those which have reference to religion, the amnesty, the sales of confiscated property, and the payment of the arrears due both to the army and navy. In reference to the second point, it was proposed to shut up the ports in order to prevent the escape of those who had any share in the death of the King; but it was judged more advisable to leave the door open, and all of them are not even excepted from pardon. It was also considered that those who have acted as Judges in the high Courts of Justice, or as members of the Committee of Safety, ought not to be admitted to the benefit of the act which confirms the sales or gifts of confiscated lands, from the number of which those of the Duke of Buckingham and three others have been excepted. The idea had occurred to some of the servants of the Queen to except also the domains set apart for the dowry of the Queen; but others, with more foresight, are of opinion that it will be better not to mention the matter just now, lest Hyde's faction should take the opportunity of making some overture prejudicial to her interests: and the same do not doubt that after the King's return, unless he is opposed to it, she will have no difficulty in regaining possession of all her rights. The General also professes his willingness to act in her service; and

consequently no one doubts but that perfect liberty will be left her to return into England, and the jealousy which some entertain of the influence of Chancellor Hyde leads them to wish that she may come to England as quickly as possible. The Parliament has, by an express deliberation, decreed that the King shall be invited to come over without delay, and Admiral Montague has been ordered to proceed with all his fleet to the coast of Holland in order to receive the Royal commands. The deputies of the Parliament are also to set out to-morrow with a large retinue of noblemen, in addition to those who have already gone over to Flanders; they were to be charged only with the answers of the two Houses; but instructions will be given them in reference to all that is desired of the King, and they will accompany him on his journey, which cannot be postponed longer than twelve or fifteen days, as he has been advised by his most zealous servants to hasten it in order to prevent the factions which might be formed, during his absence, against his authority, which some are greatly desirous of limiting; among others, they propose to present him with the great officers of the kingdom. A committee was established a few days ago, to regulate the ceremonies and manner of his reception; another is labouring to provide funds for the support of his household, and to obtain the income which is to be given him; and the General's wife is attending to the furniture. The Parliament has to-day returned thanksgivings to God for the change which has taken place, and the ministers of religion have been ordered to pray in future for the King and the Dukes of York and Gloucester; but the Queen is not included, which is contrary to the custom of past times. The reports which prevailed about an insurrection in Scotland have proved untrue, and all the advices which are received from the provinces announce entire submission. The garrison of Dunkirk has not failed to follow this example, and Mr. Lockhart has gone to the King by order of the Council of State. It is doubted whether he will be continued in the government of

Dunkirk, and whether liberty will be left to the King to restore that place to Spain; but such affairs are not mentioned yet, but everything is deferred until his return.

59.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, June 3, 1660.

My Lord,

The letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 29th of last month has just been delivered to me, and I have also received a despatch from M. de Brienne; but the course which the affairs of England have taken will not permit me to perform the services which they direct. You will already have remarked, from my previous letters, that the intrigues of the friends of Chancellor Hyde have met with more success than my efforts to induce the King of England to go into France, and that the excitement, both of the Parliament and the people, has frustrated all the measures which were being taken for transferring thither the negotiation of the treaty projected by the leading members of the Council of State, in the expectation that the General would remain true to the sentiments which he professed to them that he entertained. If the advantages which have been proposed to him have disposed him to abandon his friends, the lukewarmness of the Queen's partisans has been no less favourable to the Chancellor's designs: they throw the blame upon the Court of the Palais Royal, and, in fact, Lord Jermyn did not go into Flanders until after the arrival of a gentleman who was despatched from hence to the Queen, in order to learn her intentions with regard to the overtures which I had made, and which they did not think would be agreeable to her, as she had not written to them on the subject. Whilst this explanation was awaited, the General pledged himself to support the retirement of the King to Breda, in preference to any

other place, unless he had any objection; if the Queen had sent a messenger to him before, or if they had acted with a little more spirit, this blow would have been prevented. There now remains nothing to do but to thwart the designs which the Chancellor may form to the prejudice of France; his ill-will is said to be undiminished; but different reports are current with regard to his influence, and many flatter themselves that it will not be difficult to destroy it. This cannot however be done by the General; he is not reputed to be either a counsellor or a courtier; and his relations, to whose advice he yields great deference, are gained over, among others his wife's brother, who claims the honour of having disposed him to restore the King. It was through him that I kept up a correspondence with the General; and since the Chancellor's agents have won him over to their interests, he has discontinued to see me. The old Presbyterians are more disposed to oppose the Prime Minister, and if the number of young men with whom both Houses of Parliament have been filled had not made them lose courage, they would now have stipulated for his removal. As one party apprehends that their efforts will be useless, and the others are buoyed up with hopes, it is impossible to count on their inclinations. I have not neglected to enter into connection with some leading men, who are most anxious for the return of the Queen of England, that she may support them and combat the power of the Chancellor before it is more strongly established. Although there appears to be no obstacle to her return, one cannot answer for the sentiments which the King will entertain when he is here, and perhaps difficulties will be raised on the part of the Parliament, in order to give him a pretext for postponing her return. Already, even, it is said to be inopportune, before affairs are settled, that it will produce factions in the Court, and that religion will be prejudiced thereby. Nevertheless, these considerations will have no weight unless they are insinuated underhand by those who are known to speak

the mind of this Court; thus upon this depends the judgment which we must form of this minister's credit: he will have no right to be offended if he is not capable of keeping the Queen in France. I have not failed to act in her service with all the zeal which you prescribe; and she, as well as the King of England, will undoubtedly have been informed of the performance of the orders which have been sent me, as some of the most distinguished members of her party with whom I have been on intimate terms since my arrival in this country have undertaken to bear this testimony on my behalf. They are even persuaded that, as early as the time of Sir George Booth's insurrection, France was ready to declare against the Republic, as we then used language which appeared to them to be very positive propositions. The last demonstrations which his Majesty has given of his good-will will finally convince the King of England that my conduct has been sincere; and I entertain no doubts about presenting myself to him in a manner of which he will approve, if his arrival precedes the orders which I am expecting by my courier. I shall also continue to humour the General, to whom I spoke of the interests of the Queen at my last visit, inviting him to earn the glory of her restoration as well as of that of the King, to meet whom he started yesterday, with no other troops than his company of cavalry, in which a number of noblemen have enrolled themselves. It has not been judged advisable to repose so much confidence in the old regiments, although the officers are well-intentioned; and so some other companies of gentlemen have been formed, among others one under the name of the General's lady, of which an English earl has not disdained to become the lieutenant. The citizens of London have formed others, and after having displayed themselves in the streets, they all set out yesterday on their march, in consequence of the information given by the deputies of the Parliament that the King intended to embark on the day before yesterday, that he would land at Dover, and

would immediately proceed to Canterbury, where he would make some stay. The two Houses of Parliament will await his orders here, and, as they are making no preparations to go and meet him, I have also thought it right to remain in London. The House of Commons has, during the last few days, been engaged in hot debate upon a proposition made by one of the members to remove all Catholics from the court, according to the ancient laws. The pretext of this banishment is derived from some insurrection which has taken place in Ireland, and of which the Catholics are thought to be the principal authors. The question has not yet been decided, as part of the assembly did not think it advisable to enforce such rigorous measures at the present crisis. This proposition has not prevented all the Catholic peers from taking their seats in the Upper House, and up to this hour the others have not taken offence at their conduct; but if the proposed Act is passed, they will probably be attacked. The two Houses have had some discussion in reference to their prerogatives; because the Commons having requested the concurrence of the Lords in the confiscation of the property of the King's judges, the latter readily gave their assent, but in their Act treated the Commons as complainants and not as judges, and declare that they can act in no other capacity. The levying of money has also occupied this assembly, of which the General took leave before his departure. There is news from Ireland that the Irish Convention has sent a deputation to the King, and made him a present of £20,000 sterling, and £4000 to the Dukes of York and Gloucester. Several of the officers of the Court of Justice which condemned the King, and one of his judges, have had the boldness to present themselves before the House of Lords, who sent them to the Tower. I cannot, my Lord, behold without gratitude the approbation with which your Eminence honours my conduct, and the assurances of friendship which you renew to me; but when I consider, on the other hand, the state of my affairs and the advantages

which most others derive from their services in various offices, I cannot but accuse my fate, and imagine that fortune is less favourable in England than in any other place. This reflection augments the desire which I feel to return into France, and I supplicate your Eminence for permission to do so, after I have executed the orders which will probably be forwarded to me by my courier. I hope that this favour will not exhaust your bounty towards me.

60.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, June 7, 1660.

My Lord,

I acknowledged by last post the receipt of the letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 25th of last month, by the courier whom I had despatched; but having postponed my answer until to-day, I must, before I speak of what has occurred in England during the last few days, assure you that I will not fail to execute punctually your Eminence's commands, as well as the orders sent me by M. de Brienne. Now that the King of England has returned to his own country, they are reduced to my employing myself in the Queen's service, and against Chancellor Hyde, and to forming opinions in the Parliament by which his Majesty may be able to profit. As it has not only just now appeared to me that these were the only services which could be expected from me, this has been my principal occupation ever since the King's return has been certain, and I have treated of it with different persons, among others with the most influential Presbyterians, who have pretty openly declared themselves on the Queen's side, and against the Chancellor, whose credit gives them offence; but they have almost entirely lost courage since the General acceded to the resolutions adopted by the Parliament to recall the King without conditions; and their only

resource at present is in his conduct with regard to the Queen, it being certain that, unless she can induce him to recall her into England, the Chancellor and the Marquis of Ormonde will easily raise up obstacles to her return under the pretext of religion. And the overtures which have been made of late against the Catholics do not seem to have any other object than her exclusion, at least this is the opinion of many persons, and that these two Ministers are closely united against her return, foreseeing that their credit would be injured by her presence; but as to the pecuniary interests which she may have, full satisfaction will doubtless be given her. Lord Jermyn, the Earl of St. Albans, who arrived here yesterday evening, will have found out what is to be expected from the King, and the review which he has already made of his friends will have given him plenty of information upon which to take measures; and if my assistance can contribute to the advancement of his designs, I will not fail to act with all the zeal which you prescribe. As far as the Parliament is concerned, it is impossible to say of what use its inclinations will be. The King has returned into possession of such complete affection of his subjects that nothing can now be contested with him, and the forces which have been placed in his hands by the General's entire resignation place him in a very different position from that of his ancestors. The most clear-sighted are of opinion that henceforward the prerogatives of the people will depend upon the will of their sovereign; and although he is but slightly armed, nothing will be difficult to him if he follows the example of the Protector, who governed England with an army of seven or eight thousand men, although all the nobility and most of the people detested his authority. It has already been proposed to dissolve the present Parliament because it was not convoked in due form; and appearances clearly indicate, that if the Ministers do not find it well-intentioned, they will not leave it long in existence. The House of Lords appears the strongest; but those of whom it is composed are not capabl

of great enterprise, and the veterans who have fought during the late wars have lost nearly all their haughtiness. The Earl of Manchester belongs to this number; but he thinks he has deserved much of late, and the hope of obtaining some high office will render him very circumspect. I had formed an intimacy with him some years since, and had even first addressed myself to him in order to induce parties here to invite the King of England to pass into France, and he professed that he would labour to that end; nevertheless I have not seen that he has done anything in the matter, and since his brother's letter has been given to him, he has certainly been to see me, but in company with others; and in answer to my questions, he deferred conversation on the matter to some other time. The Countess of Carlisle is more disposed to enter into intrigues, and has appeared so for a long while; but her credit is greatly diminished, as is also that of her brother, the Earl of Northumberland. It is to be feared that the rest of the Presbyterian party, who are well-disposed towards France, will have the same fate. As for the General, I have kept on good terms with him, having anticipated the orders which were sent me to congratulate him upon the happy success of his enterprise; but no one believes that his opinion has much influence in deciding the questions discussed in the Council of England, especially in reference to foreign affairs; moreover his confidants are entirely devoted to the interests of the Chancellor. One of them, Mr. Morrice, has been made a Minister and Secretary of State; the others have received other rewards in the same way. Different opinions nevertheless prevail with regard to the Chancellor's influence, and the King of England does not wish it to be considered so great as many represent it; some think that the Earl of St. Albans will have a great deal to do with affairs of State. These opinions need confirmation, and this cannot be given until after the King's arrival in London. He disembarked at Dover on the 4th of this month; the General received him on the beach kneeling, and

surrounded by all his army. The King bestowed upon him all imaginable caresses, called him his father, and after a short conversation in private, and when he had received the homage of the nobility under a dais which had been erected, having at his sides the Dukes of York and Gloucester, who received similar respects at the same time and remained covered, the King entered his carriage, into which the two Princes and the General at first took their seats; the Duke of Buckingham also got in without being invited, and although he had met with a very cool reception. The King took the road to Canterbury, along which having met all the companies of gentlemen in battle-array, he mounted on horseback, and so entered into that city, where he has remained up to this time; during his stay there he has given the Order of the Garter to the General and to the Earl of Southampton, with this difference, that the Dukes of York and Gloucester fastened the Sash and Garter on the first, and the herald-at-arms performed the same office to the other. A paper was also read containing the reasons for the General's promotion, which were derived from his connection with the Royal family, although only by way of bastardy, and from the services he has rendered in liberating the three nations from slavery. Mr. Morrice and Sir Ashley Cooper, who both belonged to the old Parliament, have been also favoured for the latter reason, and the Garter has been sent to General Montague, who commands the fleet under the Duke of York, who has been appointed Lord High Admiral. All this company will leave Canterbury to-day on its way to London, into which city the King will enter to-morrow at the head of the nobility. The brevity of the time allowed for preparation not permitting great magnificence, the two Houses of Parliament will await him at Whitehall. Nothing of importance has occurred in these two bodies of late. The Lords have granted the Commons the liberty to put on their hats, which they formerly disputed, and the latter have resolved upon a law against the Irish Catholics, together with

a renewal of the laws which banish from the Court all who are of the same religion. The King, when embarking, forbade the Catholics of his suite to accompany him, from which we may infer that uniformity of opinion exists upon this point. I am preparing to present the letters of credence which have been sent me. The ambassador from the States-General who was here has been recalled in conformity with the desire which the King expressed when at the Hague, and the Portuguese envoy greatly apprehends that he will not be admitted to an audience after what has happened to his colleague resident in Holland. It merely remains for me to add that Mr. Lockhart has been dismissed from all his employments, and Colonel Harlow, one of the Ministers of the Council, has received commission to command at Dunkirk in his stead. In order to satisfy with exactitude and diligence your Eminence's orders that I should inform you of all that comes to my knowledge, if you would honour me with some other command, I should not obey it with less zeal, and I could not be stimulated by a more powerful motive than a desire to please you, and to merit the continuance of your goodwill.

61.] M. DE BORDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

London, June 10, 1660.

My Lord,

I have nothing to communicate to-day, except the entrance of the King into London, as I have had no opportunity, since his arrival, of presenting to him his Majesty's letter, and no remarkable solemnity or great magnificence was displayed upon this occasion, but only great declamations and expressions of joy. In the morning the King left Rochester, which is distant about ten leagues from this city, and mounted his horse when about two leagues off, where he was met by all the companies of the nobility, and by five regiments of the

army; he marched forwards in the midst of these corps, and was soon met by the Mayor of London, accompanied by the Sheriffs and a number of citizens on horseback, at the utmost confines of his jurisdiction. The Mayor presented his sword to the King, who returned it into his hands, upon which he remounted his horse, and carried his sword before him, still remaining bareheaded, and having General Monk on his right hand, and the Duke of Buckingham on his left. The King rode immediately behind him, having the Dukes of York and Gloucester on either side, but a little behind him; in this order he passed through the whole length of the City, through two ranks of pikemen of the City militia, and of the guilds of merchants who stood with their robes and banners in a hedge behind the barriers which had been fixed up in all the streets, in some of which the water-conduits were filled with wine. The King found the members of both Houses of Parliament at Whitehall, according to the orders which had been given them on the preceding evening, and harangues were made in their name, for the Upper House by the Earl of Manchester, and for the Commons by their Speaker. The day was ended with the erection of bonfires in front of all the houses, and the booming of the guns from the Tower of London. All day yesterday was employed in receiving all those who presented themselves, and to-day the Dukes of York and Gloucester have taken their seats in Parliament for the first time, in virtue of the patents granted them during the reign of the deceased King, as the Princes of the blood enjoy this prerogative only by commission. They advocated the desire which the King expressed through the medium of one of the Lords, that some of those who were created Peers by the deceased King should be admitted: and although the House of Commons had projected an Act to annul all these titles, and the House of Lords was willing to ratify such a resolution, not one of them ventured to oppose the proposition, and this acquiescence opens the door to all those titles which have been

created since the commencement of the war, which will render the Upper House more august in numbers than it formerly was. This afternoon, the Council of State began its sessions, and Mr. Hollis and the President of the preceding Council were admitted. The Earl of Manchester and Lord Robarts, considered to be two of the ablest men in the nation, are also to be added, although the latter was a most zealous opponent of the King, and his appointment is a cause of chagrin to some of the old Royalists. It has been judged advisable by this junto, to publish three Acts of Parliament, the principal of which has reference to the confirmation of sales; the Act which renews the ancient penal laws against the Catholics has been presented on the part of the Commons to the House of Lords; that enacting the imposition of taxes to the amount of three millions, payable in three months, has passed, as has also the prorogation of the sessions of the Courts of Justice; and these are the principal deliberations which have occurred of late. The affairs of the Queen are soon to be brought under discussion. I informed the Secretary of State, this morning, that his Majesty had sent me letters of credence, and the Earl of St. Albans, who came to see me this evening, assures me that the King was, this afternoon, well-disposed to receive me, notwithstanding the impression which my enemies tried to convey to him that, instead of acting on his behalf, I had pressed the General, of late, to constitute himself Protector. This is a report which was prevalent some time since, but which has no other foundation than the civilities and offers of friendship which your Eminence ordered me to make to him a few days after his arrival in London. The authors of the rumours are those men who are desirous to irritate the public mind against France, and reflectively against the Queen. I postpone until the next post further remarks upon this subject, and upon the influence possessed by the Chancellor, as I have no time to write more to-day; and can

merely inform you of the excuses sent me by Mr. Lockhart for not having visited me, and which he has based upon the fact that his disgrace is partly owing to the great friendship which he had displayed towards France.

END OF VOLUME II.

JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR, PRINTER,
LITTLE QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS.

ADDENDA.

THE following letters from Cardinal Mazarin did not come into my hands in time enough to be inserted, in the order of their dates, in the Appendix to the first volume. I regret this the less, however, because these eight letters, taken together, present Mazarin's policy and mode of action in a clearer and more striking light. Seven of them, it will be seen, are addressed to M. de Bordeaux, and one to Richard Cromwell, soon after his accession to the Protectorate.

1.] CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. DE BORDEAUX.

Fontainebleau, September 16, 1658.

I thank you for the care you have taken to communicate to me with all diligence the information which you have received of the extremity of the Protector's illness; it causes me all imaginable grief and disquietude, though I will still hope that he will happily get over it; nevertheless, in case it should please his Divine Majesty to dispose otherwise, I beg you to assure my Lord Faulconbridge and all his family that they may very securely rely on the King's protection of their interests, and that, for my own part, I will render them all the services they can possibly receive from me. In fine, you cannot make them any too extensive offers on the part of his Majesty and on my part, or any which effects shall not after-

wards confirm to them on all occasions. Above all, it is essential that they should not neglect that which is necessary for the safety of Dunkirk. I await further news from you with extreme impatience, and I remain, etc.

ADDITION IN THE CARDINAL'S HANDWRITING.

When the courier whom you had despatched was on the point of leaving, another arrived with the news of the death of the Protector, which their Majesties received with sensible displeasure; and for my own part, it causes me the utmost affliction, not only for reasons of public interest (since I am persuaded that the continuation of his life would in the end have compelled our enemies to consent to the repose of Christendom), but on account of the friendship which I well know his Highness felt for us. I beg you to express my sentiments to all his family, and to assure them, beginning with his successor, that I will lose no opportunity of serving them. You will, if you please, say the same to the Secretary of State, of whose friendship I should greatly desire to be assured, as I have a great esteem for his merits, and am persuaded that, from a solid correspondence between us, the interests of the two kingdoms might derive great advantage. Finally, you must be in continual action to make known, on the part of the King, to the whole family of the Protector, and to his good friends and adherents, that France will not fail to assist them in everything that may depend upon her, and that, by putting confidence in you, they may let you know what is to be done on your side, and I will endeavour to obtain the confirmation of the offers which you shall have made: but I beg you only to observe that it would be impossible for the King to give any assistance in money, for his Majesty has none, nor has he any means of finding any just now even for things which concern his service, and which are very urgent; and moreover there is a likelihood that his Highness will have left very great funds. It is also necessary that good orders should

be given for the preservation of Dunkirk and Mardyke, for it cannot be doubted that the Spaniards will employ the Duke of York and the King himself to endeavour to debauch the English who are in our service and in those garrisons—taking advantage of this conjuncture for that purpose. I have sent despatches to the ambassador Lockhart on this subject. I shall forget nothing that may contribute to the advantage of the common cause. I beg you to present my special compliments to my Lord Faulconbridge, and to tell him that he may count on me as on a servant who is devoted to him, and that I would venture to represent that the greatest diligence should be used to secure the City of London and the army; for if these two bodies can be secured, all the rest will go well. I beg you also to assure the admiral of my friendship, and to send us news frequently, and to avail yourself of the ordinary post, for letters are received thereby with greater certainty.

2.] Minute of a Letter from Cardinal Mazarin to M. de Bordeaux.

No date.

Sir,

You have seen by the letters which I wrote to you from Fontainebleau that, without waiting to see what aspect the affairs of England would assume, and whether the dignity of Protector would be preserved in the person of my Lord Richard, the intention of the King was that you should assure the said Lord, and all the family, that they might in any contingencies rely with certainty on the friendship and protection of his Majesty, and on my very humble service; so that the proclamation of the present Protector causes extraordinary joy here on account of the universal concurrence of all suffrages in it—those of the Council, of the officers of the army, and of the citizens of London—and by reason of all the

other circumstances by which it was attended; but it adds nothing to the earnest desire (*passion*) that was already felt to serve him. The wish that his Highness has expressed that we should go into mourning for the death of his late father has also been anticipated, for their Majesties and the whole Court had already done so before I received your letter; and I may say without exaggeration that this is the very least mark which the King is ready to give of the respect in which his Majesty holds the memory of the late Protector, and of his friendship for him who has so worthily succeeded him. Accordingly he has highly approved the terms in which you have spoken on the subject, and the resolution you have adopted to be present at the funeral of a Prince whose death has caused him so much grief. I have already expressed to you how greatly I was personally affected by it; but I must confess to you that what I have since learned of the last proofs which he gave me of his esteem and confidence, and of the manner in which he spoke thereof to his son, has caused me fresh emotions of tenderness and gratitude which have redoubled the grief which I felt at so great a loss, to such a degree that I cannot express it to you, and you cannot dilate too largely upon it to his son, when you pay him my compliments. I think therefore that his Highness will rest satisfied on the first two points which you have intimated to him; but I should be very sorry if you had given any pledge on the third point, which relates to some pecuniary assistance. For the King finds himself absolutely unable to give any . . . is sufficiently aware, and we are obliged to borrow on all sides in order to carry on the war in Flanders. For my own part, I am in want of ready money to meet the expenses which it has been necessary to incur in Germany and for the sieges of Dunkirk and Gravelines; and I think I may say with the utmost sincerity . . . with greater joy than I should do to assist his Highness in his present necessity; and your protestation cannot be regarded with suspicion, because if I did not act from zeal and

inclination, I should do it from policy, knowing well enough how important it is to the interests of France that the present Government of England should be maintained in the condition in which it now is. I beg you therefore to represent our inability and the displeasure which I feel at it as strongly as you can, in order to render the Protector fully persuaded of it, and to get out of this dilemma with your usual skill, so that his Highness may not doubt his Majesty's goodwill, and my own zeal for whatever concerns him.

3.] CARDINAL MAZARIN TO THE PROTECTOR.

Paris, September 25, 1658.

Sir,

I have so many reasons for being sensibly affected by the death of his late Most Serene Highness the Protector, that I shall not employ many words to express to your Most Serene Highness the grief which it has caused me, which I well feel to be one of those which are contained in sad silence, because they are beyond expression. And truly, even if I did not regard the interest of the King and of the State in the loss of a Prince so illustrious and so well-intentioned towards this Crown, he gave me, even in the last moments of his life, such obliging and such glorious marks of esteem, confidence, and friendship, that I cannot sufficiently regret his loss. But what mitigates in some degree my displeasure at this unfortunate occurrence, is to find that your Most Serene Highness has been proclaimed his successor with such universal applause, and that I am fully persuaded that not only will you conform to his views, for the establishment of an indissoluble union with France, but that you will be pleased to honour me with the same goodwill which his Highness entertained towards me, as I have a very strong desire to deserve it by my services.

4.] CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. DE BORDEAUX.

Paris, October 5, 1658.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 26th of last month. I thank you for the punctuality with which you inform me of the state of affairs in England, and I beg you to continue to do so. I am very glad to see that the present Government grows stronger and stronger, and that the Protector is acquiring for himself the esteem and affection of every one. I agree with you that the assembly of a Parliament might expose affairs to some change, but I do not see what means can be found for carrying on the war and meeting all the other expenses which must be incurred, without the convocation of a Parliament. I beg you to give me some information on this matter; and meanwhile you must, as I have already directed you, avoid permitting any hope to be entertained of assistance from this country, as we are absolutely unable to give any, although the King has all imaginable inclination and willingness to render it. It was Mr. Lockhart who delayed executing the order which he had received to come to court, to pay the compliments of his new master; upon which I sent him word that his Majesty dispensed with his doing so for the present, preferring that he should remain at Dunkirk for the security of that place, where he may be useful in various contingencies to his Majesty's service. But as he will be able to fulfil his commission some time or other, you must endeavour to prevent any other person being sent hither in his stead, because it would be only an embarrassment and a superfluous expense to the Protector and to us. Mr. Lockhart may also very easily perform the duties of his embassy, if he retains his government; for in the winter he is at liberty to come hither, and as the King is in the country nearly all the summer, he can remain at his post during that time, which is the only time at which it is exposed to any risk. It is also satisfactory

to his Majesty that this should be so, wherefore you must contribute, as far as depends upon you, to procure that no change may be made.

5.] CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. DE BORDEAUX.

Paris, October 19, 1658.

Sir,

I have seen all your letters, the last of which is dated on the 10th of this month. I am astonished that you should not yet have received those from the King which M. de Brienne has addressed to you, and my own as credentials for the compliment of condolence which you are to pay to the Protector; which duty I make no doubt that you have by this time discharged, and that you have easily destroyed the unfavourable impressions which, on account of this delay, it was attempted to excite with regard to his Majesty's sentiments towards the present government of England.

Upon Mr. Ambassador Lockhart writing to me that he had orders to come to court, I sent him word that he must now hasten his journey, as the King is to start in a few days on a tour which he has resolved to make in the direction of Lyons; so that I imagine he will be here soon, and we will examine with him the propositions that he may make with regard to a loan of money; respecting which, in the meanwhile, it will be well to say that we are in such great straits that you do not think his Majesty is in a condition to gratify his intense desire to give this new mark of his affection to the Protector.

M. de Brienne has been instructed to make known to you the King's intentions with regard to the difficulty that might arise in respect to the ceremony of the funeral of the late Protector; in conformity with which I am sure you will have regulated your conduct. I am rejoiced at the liberation of the Duke of Buckingham, to whom I beg you again to continue to render all the good offices that may be in your power.

If you think that by making some present to my Lord Faulconbridge or to his wife, it would make him more zealous for the interests of this crown, it shall very willingly be done, and you need only let me know what will most please them.

Tell me also whether M. Bodaquin is a man who can be turned to any use, for in that case we might give him some further gratuity.

6.] CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. DE BORDEAUX.

October 25, 1658.

Sir,

You know better than any one what were the sentiments of the late Protector respecting the interests of the King of Sweden. I make no doubt that the present Protector is his successor in his opinions as well as in his dignity, and wishes to follow the track and conduct of so intelligent and able a father. How greatly France and England are interested in procuring the enfeeblement of the common enemy, with whom they are at war, is visible enough. It is still more plain, by the same principle, that this Crown and that Commonwealth should contribute according to their ability, to the support and strengthening of the King of Sweden, so that he may directly or indirectly find occupation for the forces of the House of Austria, which are entirely devoted to the service of Spain. But it is necessary that it should not be only by demeanour and attitude that England should contribute to this design, it must be by effects proportionate to her power and to the exigency of the situation, as France is doing. The enterprise in which the King of Sweden is now embarked is of such consequence to himself and to the common cause, that it well deserves that England should make an effort, as well as ourselves, to help him to get out of it with honour. The effort however will not be too great for her, as it is only to assist him with a few ships,

and she is so powerfully armed on the sea. You will confer on the details of this succour with the Swedish resident, and support his request with all the weight of your good offices. It is the King's intention which I now explain to you, for which reason I have written this letter to you in so precise a style. You will however govern your conduct in this matter in such a way that it may not appear that we are aiming directly "at anything but the preservation of an ally who is very important to us," and as some others of our allies think they may assist his enemy without disobliging us or breaking with us, it is allowable for us to use the same privilege without disobliging or breaking with them, and to follow the law of our interest, as they follow theirs. This should be reciprocal. You will easily understand to whom I allude.

7.] CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. DE BORDEAUX.

Auxerre, October 31, 1658.

Sir,

I have received your despatch of the 17th October. It is good that you should take care to continue to inform us of what is going on on the other side of the Channel, and above all things to endeavour to discover what is the inclination of the present Government with regard to the Dutch and to the affairs of the North, for it is very important to know truly how matters stand.

Mr. Ambassador Lockhart has paid his compliments to the King, to the Queen, and to Monsieur; he has also seen me twice, and has spoken to me about the loan of money. I gave him to understand that we were not in a condition to advance any; and nevertheless, to prove to him the affection which I have for everything that may concern the satisfaction of the Protector, I offered him certain of my jewels which are worth above two hundred thousand crowns, and I strongly urged him

to take them. But after having expressed to me how greatly he was touched by the manner in which I treated him, he thanked me very much for the offer, without however being willing to take the jewels. He merely said that he hoped that, on the journey which we are taking, we should become rich enough to be able to assist our friends: and I replied, that very willingly the King would do it with great joy, when he had the means. This is all that I shall write to you at present, deferring more particular communications to another time.

8.] CARDINAL MAZARIN TO M. DE BORDEAUX.

November 13, 1658.

Sir,

I was very glad to notice, by your despatch of the last day of last month, the manner in which your public audience had passed off, when you presented the compliments of condolence and congratulation which you had orders to pay to the Protector; and to learn that his Highness had received so obligingly the assurances of my very humble service, which you will do me the pleasure to confirm to him on all occasions as strongly as you can. I hope that he will easily disperse the factions which were beginning to rise against his authority; but I beg you to take care to be well informed of all that may pass on this subject, and to communicate it punctually to me. When I return to Paris, I will have search made for two handsome barbs, to be sent to my Lord Faulconbridge; meanwhile, let me know what should be the value of the jewels which are to be presented to his wife.

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